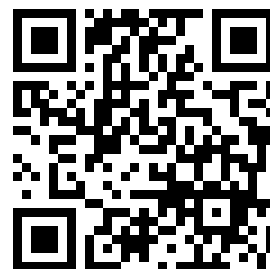

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Lost mosaics and frescoes of Rome of the mediaeval period

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LOST MOSAICS AND FRESCOES OF ROME OF
THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

PLATE I



DRAWING OF THE FRESCO FORMERLY IN THE APSE OF S. LORENZO IN LUCINA.

LOST ROMAN

A PUBLICATION OF DRAWING
IN THE COLLECTION OF CASSELL
NOW IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY, WINDSOR

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C. R. MOREY
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DRAWING OF THE MOSAIC IN THE APSE OF S. LORENZO, FLORENCE

PRINCETON MONOGRAPHS IN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY IV

LOST MOSAICS AND FRESCOES OF ROME OF THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

A PUBLICATION OF DRAWINGS CONTAINED
IN THE COLLECTION OF CASSIANO DAL POZZO,
NOW IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY, WINDSOR CASTLE

BY
C. R. MOREY
..

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
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1915

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To
RICHARD NORTON

PREFACE

I am under obligation to Professors Allan Marquand and Frank J. Mather, Jr., of Princeton, for much assistance in the preparation of the following pages. To Dr. Thomas Ashby, Director of the British School in Rome, I feel particularly indebted for his unfailing kindness in furnishing me with photographs and data which could only be obtained at Rome, and for numerous useful suggestions bearing witness to his thorough knowledge of the sources of Roman Archaeology.

I wish also here to thank the staff of the Royal Library at Windsor for the assistance afforded me in the reproduction and description of the drawings published in the present monograph.

Princeton, March, 1915.

C. R. MOREY.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1762 the young George the Third, two years after he ascended the throne, justified the reputation which he had acquired as a connoisseur of ancient art by purchasing through the agency of James Adam, the great collection of drawings and prints which had been one of the most precious possessions of the library of Cardinal Albani.¹ The collection brought about three thousand guineas, and its sale aroused the protests of Winckelmann, who was at that time the Cardinal's librarian. Sold it was, however, and it has ever since formed part of the King's Library at Windsor Castle.

The major portion of this collection consisted of the drawings assembled by the Commendatore Cassiano dal Pozzo, who died in 1657. Part of his drawings came through various hands into the possession of A. W. Franks, but most of them were sold with the Albani Collection to King George, and are preserved in the first sixteen volumes of this series. Among these are two folio volumes bound in leather and labelled *Mosaici Antichi*² The name is misleading, for most of the drawings are copies, not of mosaics, but of frescoes and objects of the minor arts,³ of Christian origin. A number of them, moreover, are copies of pagan monuments, which were no doubt taken for Christian by the copyist or the person who gave the drawings their present arrangement. They are mostly done in pen and color or wash, with the addition of gold in the case of copies of mosaics. Occasionally one finds a sketch in chalk or some other medium. The subjects are varied, ranging from the mosaics of the churches of

¹ Michaelis, "Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," pp. 84 and 718-719.

² Vols. XI-XII. The average measurement of the leaves of the first volume is $54\frac{3}{4} \times 39\frac{1}{4}$ cm.; of the second, $54\frac{1}{2} \times 39\frac{1}{2}$ cm. In the present monograph these volumes are referred to by the title *Mosaici Antichi*, Vols. I, II.

³ One of the objects is an early Christian encolpium of Palestinian type, whose reliefs of front and back are reproduced in Vol. II, fol. 28, nos. 9,069, 9,070. This lost encolpium is discussed by E. B. Smith in *Bys. Zeit.* 1914, pp. 217-225.

Rome and Ravenna to the *fondi d'oro* (bottoms of glass goblets inclosing a design in gold leaf) found in the catacombs, and including reliefs of sarcophagi, plans of buildings, etc., and a few nondescript objects whose character is hard to determine.

The date which is to be assigned to the drawings offers an interesting problem. One of them,⁴ a copy of the inscription on the triumphal arch of St. Paul's-outside-the-Walls, has upon it the note: *Nell' arco che separa la tribuna dal resto della chiesa in S. paolo di mosaico 1592*. The "1592" might at first sight be taken for a date, but the other drawings on the same page bear numbers running well up into the hundreds, and as the "1592" is written in different ink from that used in the note, it is altogether likely that it, like the numbers found on the other drawings beside it, is a catalogue indication added subsequently. I have found no other notes on the drawings contained in the *Mosaici Antichi* which offer any help in the matter of dating.

Some of the copies of mosaics and frescoes show that they must have been done after the closing years of the sixteenth century. Thus the copy of the tribune frescoes of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran (see page 67) was certainly executed after the restoration of these frescoes, which took place about 1570. Another indication is to be found in the copy of the apsidal mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano. We know that Gregory XIII altered this mosaic, putting in a figure of Gregory the Great in place of the original effigy of Felix IV. Dal Pozzo's drawing retains this figure of Gregory and hence must have been made after the accession of Gregory XIII in 1572. Alexander VII took out this figure and replaced it with the present representation of Felix IV. His reign ended in 1667, which gives us a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the drawing that can be restricted further by the date of Dal Pozzo's death, 1657. The apse of S. Teodoro must have been copied before the Barberini restoration of 1644 (see page 29 ff.). Lastly, the drawing of the arch of SS. Cosma e Damiano (Fig. 1, compare Fig. 6)⁵ shows us the arch

⁴ *Mosaici Antichi*, Vol. II, fol. 30, no. 9077. Measures 8 x 11½ cm. Pen drawing.

⁵ *Mosaici Antichi*, Vol. I, fol. 95, no. 9034. Dal Pozzo number 37. Measures 24 x 44½ cm. Pen, gold, and color. The strip at the bottom of the drawing represents the lower band of the apsidal mosaic. There are slight differences from the existing band: at present the outer parts of the cities are cut off, and with them the crosses flanked by A and Ω which terminate the inscription at either end. The present inscription also has

in its present curtailed state, after the sides were cut off during the alteration of the church under Urban VIII (1623-1644).

These various indications derived from different drawings in the two volumes of *Mosaici Antichi* would be of little moment were it not for the fact that the majority of these copies of frescoes and mosaics show a sufficient similarity of style and of technique to be ascribed to one and the same hand. This unity can certainly be asserted of the copies which are discussed in the present volume. One needs but to compare the reproductions of the

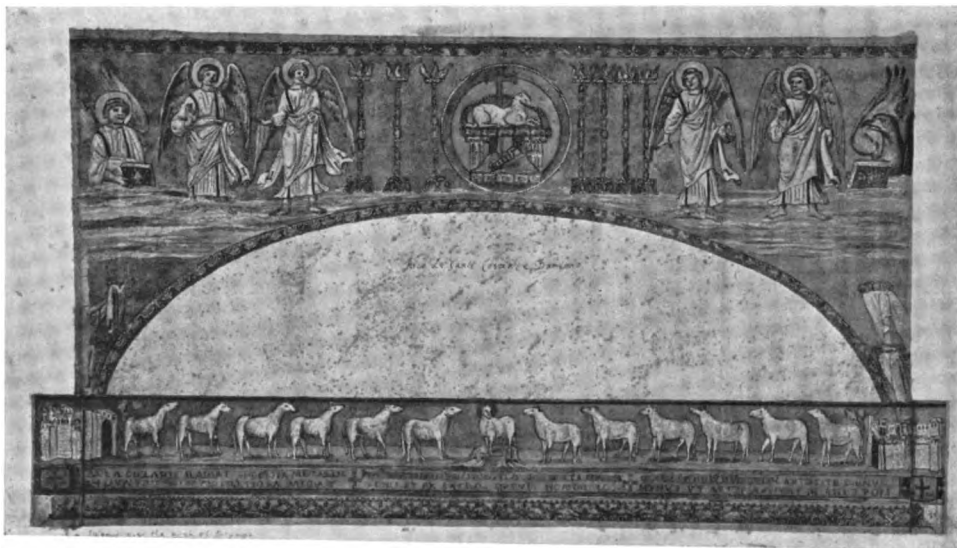


FIG. 1. (ABOVE) DRAWING OF THE ARCH MOSAIC OF SS. COSMA E DAMIANO.
(BELOW) DRAWING OF THE LOWER FRIEZE OF THE APSIDAL MOSAIC.

drawings herein contained to be convinced of this, and will be struck particularly by the uniformity shown in the drawing of the borders, and of the drapery and faces of the figures, especially as regards the nostrils and the mouth. To be more specific, all the drawings about to be discussed may be assigned to the artist who drew the copy of the arch of SS. Cosma e Damiano, done after 1623, and that of the apse of S. Teodoro, done before 1644, years which correspond to the pontificate of Urban VIII. From a statement by Mabillon (see page 32) it is to be inferred that the

"ÆTHERIA" instead of the "ÆTERIA" of the drawing. These discrepancies indicate that the copy was made *during*, and not *after*, the alterations of the tribune effected under Urban VIII.

mosaic of S. Teodoro was copied by order of Cassiano dal Pozzo himself, and it is quite possible that all the drawings showing the same hand were commissioned by the Commendatore for his own collection.

Now we happen to know the name of an artist who was making copies of ancient mosaics and frescoes for the Roman amateurs of this period, one Antonio Eclissi, who was in the employ of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII, and has left two volumes of drawings of Roman mosaics, frescoes and inscriptions, signed with his name and dated respectively 1639 and 1640.⁹ Many of these drawings are copies of monuments which are also reproduced in the Dal Pozzo collection. One of them, a copy of Cavallini's Madonna in S. Maria in Trastevere, is reproduced from a bromide negative in Fig. 11. If we compare this copy with that in the Dal Pozzo collection (Fig. 12), the identity of handling is so apparent (see page 53) that we are forced to conclude that Eclissi was the author of both drawings, and was employed by Cassiano dal Pozzo as well as by the Barberini. The same style, as was said before, is found in the other drawings discussed in this monograph, and they are therefore to be attributed *en bloc* to Antonio Eclissi, together with the many other copies in the Dal Pozzo collection which show the same technique.

The drawings selected for publication in the present monograph are copies of mosaics and frescoes which once decorated the churches of Rome but are now destroyed either in whole or in part, or are so much changed by restoration or repainting as to bear little resemblance to their original appearance. In the cases of the apse of S. Maria Nuova, the Cavallini mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere and the ceiling fresco of the oratory of S. Pudenziana the copies are published for the sake of the inscriptions which they record. The drawing of the apse of S. Teodoro presents a problem by itself, and is important by reason of the evidence it affords on the date of the collection.

With the exception of the apse of S. Teodoro and that of SS. Cosma e Damiano, all the frescoes and mosaics whose original aspect is restored by this series of copies belong to the revival of art in Rome in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a period known to the modern student of Italian

⁹ Formerly in the Barberini collection (Mss. 2010, 2011), now in the Vatican Library. See E. Müntz, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, École française de Rome*, 1888, pp. 105-108.

painting as the first phase of the classic "renaissance," which led on to the style of Cavallini and played no small part in the formation of the art of Giotto.

The group of drawings here discussed by no means exhausts the number of copies of importance contained in the *Mosaici Antichi*, and I hope soon to publish others in the collection which will be of interest to the student of mediæval Rome.

I. THE FRESCO IN THE APSE OF S. LORENZO IN LUCINA

Readers of "The Ring and the Book" will remember that S. Lorenzo in Lucina was the church where Pompilia was married. Now and then its seclusion is penetrated by the casual literary pilgrim; not often, however, for there is little to attract the sightseer save the twelfth century portico and campanile. The interior, modernized in the seventeenth century, affords a somewhat disappointing *mise en scène* for Browning's romance.

An out-of-the-way and quiet church, S. Lorenzo has had a rather uneventful career as Roman churches go. It is very old, for Pope Damasus was elected there in the year 366,¹ and some have tried to make it older still by building ingenious theories on its peculiar appellation "in Lucina." Such phrases attached to the name of a Roman church are usually derived from the name of the founder, as in the case of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. De Waal² therefore contends that "the church was without doubt founded in the house of a lady of that name (Lucina)," and that this Lucina, if she was the contemporary of St. Lawrence, who suffered martyrdom in 258, might well be the Christian matron of the same name who buried the body of Pope Cornelius in *praedio suo via Appia*, in a cemetery which became the nucleus of the vast catacomb of Callixtus. Old topographers saw in the name a reference to an ancient temple, and the "Maraviglie di Roma," published in 1629, tells us that the church was "originally the temple of Juno Lucina." Others³ have preferred to assign the foundation of the church to Sixtus III (432-440), citing a passage in the life of this Pontiff as it appears in the *Liber Pontificalis*: "*Fecit autem*

¹ Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* I, p. 364, note 2.

² S. v. *Lucina* in Wetzer & Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*.

³ Professor Frothingham, for example, in his "Monuments of Christian Rome" (Appendix, p. 407). Professor Frothingham cites the apsidal fresco discussed in this chapter in support of his opinion, but was mistaken in supposing that Sixtus and not Lucina held the model of the church, and was thus represented as the founder.

basilicam sancto Laurentio, quod l'alentinianus Augustus concessit."³ In this they are wrong, for Sixtus' church was certainly the *Basilica Maior*, the extension which he added to the old Constantinian church of St. Lawrence-outside-the-Walls.⁴

As a matter of fact we know nothing of the origin of the church, and it first appears in the history of the city as the theatre of the election of Damasus as bishop of Rome. We hear of it again under the name "Titulus Lucinæ" in connection with a council held under Symmachus in 499. In the sixth century it was already a "station" church.⁵ Benedict II restored it toward the end of the seventh century,⁶ and it was restored again, "together with the portico," by Hadrian I (772-795).⁷ In his day there was a cemetery beside the church, from which some interesting epitaphs were brought to light during repairs to the foundations of the Palazzo Fiano, to the left of the portico of S. Lorenzo.⁸ It was at S. Lorenzo that Hadrian's successor Leo III was blinded and had his tongue torn out in a popular revolt when he had arrived at the church to celebrate the *Litania Maior*, which at that time included a procession starting from S. Lorenzo and proceeding to St. Peter's by way of the Milvian bridge.⁹ The ninth and tenth centuries have left no further memories of the church, except that it was flooded twice by inundations of the Tiber, in the reigns of Sergius II and Nicholas I.¹⁰ In the eleventh century, under Gregory VII (1073-1085) the church shared in the general devastation which overtook this part of the city at the hands of Robert Guiscard and his Norman hordes, who, as recorded by a nearly contemporary chronicler¹¹ in the *Liber Pontificalis*, "utterly destroyed and well-

³ Duchesne, *op. cit.* I, p. 234.

⁴ Duchesne, *op. cit.* I, p. 235, note 12.

⁵ Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, 2nd ed. 1891, p. 291.

⁶ Duchesne, *op. cit.* I, p. 363: *Hic ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli sed et beati Laurenti martyris qui appellatur Lucinae restauravit.*

⁷ Duchesne, *op. cit.* I, p. 507: *Pariter et titulum beati Laurentii martyris qui appellatur Lucinae, seu ecclesiam beati Martini sitam iuxta titulum sancti Silvestri, simulque et basilica beati Agapiti martyris foris muros iuxta sanctum Laurentium posita, quæ præfate ecclesiæ a priscis temporibus marcuentes in ruinis mole evenerunt, quas præcipuas antistes fervens in amore spiritus sancti in omnibus una cum porticibus earum noviter nimio decore renovavit.*

⁸ De Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.* 1873, p. 22 ff.

⁹ Duchesne, *op. cit.* II, p. 35, note 17.

¹⁰ Duchesne, *op. cit.* II, p. 153.

¹¹ Peter of Pisa, Cardinal under Paschal II. Cf. Duchesne, *Étude sur le Liber Pontificalis*, p. 92 (*Bibl. des écoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome*, I^{re} série, T. I.).

nigh reduced to nothing all that region in which are situated the churches of S. Silvestro and S. Lorenzo in Lucina."¹²

The Norman sack of Rome must have badly damaged the church, even if the "utter destruction" of the mediæval hyperbolist be taken with a grain of salt, for there is record of restorations on the part of the popes of the twelfth century. Paschal II, according to an inscription of 1112 which is mentioned by Pompeo Ugonio, restored the high altar and deposited the relics of many martyrs in the church. There still exists in the portico an inscription recording the dedication of the church in 1130 by Anacletus II, antipope in the time of Innocent II. Another inscription preserved in the interior relates that Celestine III dedicated it anew "with the devotion of the whole Roman people and the neighboring peoples, and with such solemnity and glory as was never read of nor seen before."¹³ Ugonio, quoting Biondo, says that the church was again restored in 1280 by Hugo "Cardinale d'Inghilterra"; in 1427 by Giovanni da Rupescissa "under Eugenius IV," and again in the middle of the fifteenth century, "in the time of Biondo himself," by "Inico, Cardinale di Aragonia." The present aspect of the interior dates from the seventeenth century, when it was remodelled in modern style.¹⁴ It still retains the prestige of antiquity; a Cardinal bears its title and ranks first in the Order of Priests of St. Peter's.

We may thank the restoration of the seicento for the destruction of the decoration of the interior, of which we should be entirely ignorant were it not for the happy preservation of the drawing which forms the subject of this chapter (Plate I, frontispiece).¹⁵ It represents a typical apsidal composition, with a border composed of the usual garland of flowers, banded by a ribbon and ending at the top in a red medallion inclosing a white monogram: ✠. A diamond pattern in white on a red ground forms an interior border. The composition proper is dominated by the Arc of Heaven, in which appears the Hand of God holding a crown over the head of Christ. The Saviour, dressed in green-white tunic and red pallium, and wearing a white nimbus (crossed and dotted with red), holds a roll in His

¹² Duchesne, *op. cit.* II, p. 290: *Immo ipse cum suis totam regionem illam in qua ecclesie sancti Silvestri et sancti Laurentii in Lucina site sunt penitus destruxit et fere ad nichilum redegit.*

¹³ The text of this inscription is given by Armellini, *op. cit.* p. 291.

¹⁴ Armellini, *op. cit.* p. 292.

¹⁵ *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. I, fol. 13, no. 8940. Marked with the number 24 by an early cataloguer, presumably Dal Pozzo. Measures 23½ x 38 cm. Pen and color wash.

left hand and raises His right hand in what was probably in the original a gesture of benediction. He stands on a little green hillock in the midst of a group of six saints, each of whom wears a white nimbus bordered with red. To His right is St. Paul, in white tunic and purple pallium; on His left St. Peter, who wears a red tunic and white pallium shaded with green. Both Peter and Paul wear sandals instead of shoes, a regular distinction of the Apostolic saints. Each carries a scroll in his left hand, while the right arm is raised but enveloped in classic fashion by the pallium,—a point of some importance, as will appear later. The next saint to the Saviour's right is St. Lawrence. He wears a yellow-white pallium wrapped around his deacon's dalmatic, which is red with green stripes and pectoral. In his left hand he carries the lector's book as further indication of his rank in the clergy. The artist has not drawn his right foot; it doubtless rested on the gridiron, the instrument of his martyrdom, which is seen below him. In the same relative position on the other side of the group is the other deacon saint, the protomartyr Stephen, a constant companion of St. Lawrence in Roman iconography ever since the sixth century, when he first appears in this rôle in the mosaic on the arch of St. Lawrence-outside-the-Walls. On his head he bears the stones with which he was slain. He, too, carries a book, and a purple pallium is draped over his dalmatic, which is yellow-white with green stripes and pectoral. Over his left arm is draped a green manipule. At the extremities of the row of saints on either side are the traditional founders of the Church. On the right of Christ is Lucina, who wears a yellow-white undergarment, with a green overdress edged with white, and a red palla draped upon her shoulders. Over the blue veil which covers her head she wears a crown of green (the patrician ladies among the early Roman saints usually became "princesses" in later legend), and in her hands, piously veiled in a white napkin, she carries a little model of the church; a very freely conceived model, lacking the portico, but showing the basilical clerestory and a campanile with two windowed stories. At the other end of the line stands Pope Sixtus, in episcopal costume.¹⁶ He carries a red-covered book in his left hand. The figures are labelled

¹⁶ White tunic, red dalmatic with a green patch, green *paenula*, or mantle, with a yellow pectoral on the breast, white pallium-scarf with black crosses, and white neckcloth. Sixtus, Lawrence, and Lucina all wear dark-colored shoes; the foot of St. Lawrence is shod in yellow. All the saints stand on a greenish ground-strip against a background of violet. The arc of Heaven and the Hand are in blue and white.

with inscriptions; by the side of Christ's halo is: $\overline{\text{YHS}} \overline{\text{XC}}$, and above the heads of the other figures are the following titles, $\overline{\text{S}}$ -PAVLVS, $\overline{\text{S}}$ -PETRVS, $\overline{\text{S}}$ -LAVRENTI, STEPHANVS, $\overline{\text{S}}$ -LVCINA, $\overline{\text{S}}$ -SYXTVS-

The presence in the group of Sixtus, St. Lawrence and Lucina indicates where Dal Pozzo's artist (i.e. Eclissi) copied the painting, and we have also the definite assurance of Pompeo Ugonio (in his *Historia delle Stationi di Roma*, Rome, 1588) that it belonged to S. Lorenzo in Lucina. In his description of the church as it appeared in the last years of the sixteenth century he mentions this painting first by way of bolstering up his theory that the church was founded by Lucina, pointing out that he is supported in his opinion by the "ancient painting in the tribune, which shows itself to be some centuries old, where among other saints is painted Saint Lucina, holding a church in her hands, with her name above, in the manner which we have already observed in the Station of S. Cecilia to have been among our forefathers the customary way of painting those saints who built the churches."¹⁷ Further on he gives a full description of the composition: "Behind is the tribune, painted with ancient figures. In the centre is Our SAVIOUR, to the right and left Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Saint Lawrence and Saint Stephen. Next on one side is painted Saint Lucina, who holds the church in her hands, being a proof that she built it; and on the other side, with his name above him, is Sixtus III, also a benefactor of the same church. A little below and next to (the tribune painting) is depicted the life and story of the glorious martyr Saint Lawrence."¹⁸ The painting must therefore have been in fresco and not in mosaic, for in his description of other churches, Ugonio is careful to mention the use of mosaic wherever occasion demands, and here he repeatedly tells us that the apse was "painted" (*pittura antica, e . . . dipinta santa Lucina, Tribuna dipinta, si vede . . . dipinta S. Lucina*). Moreover, no gold is used in the drawing, while Eclissi always uses gold in his copies of mosaics. The drawing has therefore preserved a very fair replica of an interesting mediæval fresco.

¹⁷ *Historia delle Stationi di Roma*, fol. 184.

¹⁸ It is possible that some of these scenes of the life of S. Lorenzo are copied in drawings of the Dal Pozzo collection (Vol. I, fols. 50 to 78; vol. II, fols. 24 to 26, and fol. 86) which represent scenes in the lives of Sts. Lawrence and Stephen. But the great majority of them are certainly copies of frescoes at St. Lawrence-outside-the-Walls, and no certain connection can be established between the others and this series mentioned by Ugonio.

But of what period? There lies a difficulty, for while if the original were before us the question would solve itself by mere indications of style, it is quite a different matter to date a painting on the basis of a copy executed about 1640 by an artist more or less indifferent to stylistic detail. Nevertheless, the fresco gives certain clues to its date even through this discouraging medium.

Reviewing the history of the church, there are but few epochs when the tribune is likely to have been decorated. For to ascribe the fresco to Sixtus and the fifth century is not only impossible on other grounds,—for example, the little model which Lucina holds has a campanile, and bell-towers were unknown in Rome in the fifth century,—but the epithet *Sanctus* which appears in the inscription above the head of Sixtus shows that the painting is later than his day, for a Pope could scarcely canonize himself in his own work. The inscription might be a later addition, but there is no reason to suppose this in the case of the halo, so that the objection still holds. The next possible date is offered by the restoration of Benedict II at the end of the seventh century. Against this there is still the campanile, and the restoration of Benedict must in any case have been anything but thorough, for a hundred years later, the *Liber Pontificalis* records, the church was “in ruins,” and had to be “renewed” by Hadrian I. The chronicle adds moreover that Hadrian restored the church “*noviter nimio decore*,” which apparently alludes to new interior decoration, and we have evidence of this Pontiff’s solicitude for the inner aspect of Roman churches from the fact that he restored the mosaics of S. Pudenziana.¹⁹

Hadrian’s biography in the *Liber Pontificalis* bears witness to great activity in restoring the churches of the city, and his occupancy of the Holy See marks the beginning of an artistic revival in Rome which lasted until the middle of the ninth century and produced the mosaic of SS. Nereo and Achilleo under Leo III, the mosaics of S. Prassede, S. Cecilia and S. Maria in Domnica under Paschal I, and that of Gregory IV in S. Marco. As between the reigns of Benedict II and Hadrian I, then, it is to the latter that the fresco would be more probably assigned.

Aside from mere fragments, and a few paintings in the church of S. Maria Antiqua assigned to the reign of Hadrian I on rather insufficient

¹⁹ De Rossi, *Mosaici cristiani di Roma*.

grounds, the only one of Hadrian's paintings left with which the drawing may be compared is a fresco²⁰ on the long wall to the right as one enters the atrium of S. Maria Antiqua, representing the Madonna enthroned in the midst of a group of six figures. Five of them are designated as saints by the circular nimbus they wear around their heads, but the sixth is Hadrian himself, wearing the rectangular nimbus which denotes the living personage and labelled with doubtful modesty: (Sanct)ISSIMVS (Hadr) IANUS (pa)PA. The style, however, of these figures, with their slender stiffness, flat draperies and Byzantinizing heads, offers little analogy to the comparatively free treatment to be observed in the Dal Pozzo drawing, even giving due allowance to the tendency of the copyist to modernize the original.

The difference becomes more marked when we compare Eclissi's drawing with the better preserved monuments of the period ushered in by Hadrian's reign, the mosaics, namely, of the end of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century which were commissioned by Hadrian's successors. These mosaics of what may be called the Carolingian period in Rome make the figures very long and slender. The garlands of the borders are themselves somewhat attenuated; they do not as in the drawing under discussion fill the space assigned to them, but leave a strip of gold background on either side between them and the frame. The Carolingian artists also represented the Hand of God issuing from clouds, and not from the formal Arc of Heaven seen in the drawing. The treatment of the right arms of Peter and Paul offers another distinction; in the Carolingian examples the arm is free, while in the fresco of S. Lorenzo it is enveloped by the pallium. Lastly we have two considerations of a more decisive character which make it extremely improbable that the fresco was executed under Hadrian. The Carolingian Popes were accustomed to represent themselves as donors in their mosaics and frescoes, wearing the rectangular nimbus and kneeling at the feet of the Virgin or of Christ, or standing like Lucina, and sometimes holding a model of the church in their hands. Hadrian is depicted, in the fresco of S. Maria Antiqua previously noticed, as a standing figure wearing a rectangular nimbus and holding a book. Not content with this, the Popes of the period usually signed their work by placing their monograms in a little medallion

²⁰ Grüneisen, *Stc.-Marie-Antique*, fig. 69.

at the top of the apsidal arch, where in the drawing the monogram of Christ is seen. Paschal signs himself thus at S. Prassede, S. Cecilia, and S. Maria in Domnica; Gregory IV placed his monogram in the same place at S. Marco; Hadrian I himself, when he repaired the apse of S. Pudenziana, left his monogram, since destroyed, on the summit of the arch. We would therefore expect to find it replacing the ✠ at the top of the arch of S. Lorenzo if the apse had been decorated at his order.



FIG. 2. FAÇADE AND CAMPANILE OF S. LORENZO IN LUCINA.

The second objection brings us back to the campanile, evidently the chief feature of the façade at the time the fresco was painted. As it appears in the model of the church which Lucina holds, the campanile is a rough sketch of the usual Roman type, a square brick tower with two or more windowed stories. But while church bells seem to have been used in Rome at least as early as Gregory the Great, the bell-tower itself was not introduced till later. The earliest example in Rome seems to be the campanile of S. Marco, and this can scarcely antedate the reign of

Gregory IV (827-844). The campanile in the drawing is therefore quite as much an objection to assigning the fresco to Hadrian as to its attribution to Benedict II or Sixtus III. It is more likely, from what will appear later, that it is a free copy (Roman mosaics and frescoes are never very accurate in the representation of buildings) of the twelfth century bell-tower which at present flanks the church (Fig. 2).

The arguments which have been brought out against a date in the end of the eighth century, save in the case of the campanile, hold for the whole Carolingian period, and as for the tenth and eleventh centuries, there is nothing in the history of the church or in the history of the mediæval art of Rome which would lead one to suppose that the fresco was produced in those dark ages of the city. But the church suffered severely at the hands of Robert Guiscard, and was dedicated anew by the antipope Anacletus II in 1130, and again by Celestine III in 1196. A dedication implies practically a rebuilding, with its attendant transformation of the interior. Historically speaking therefore, this is the most likely time in which to place the fresco, and if it is compared with the other works produced in the twelfth century the connection with the period is clear.

There are three Roman churches which retain their mosaic decoration of the twelfth century: S. Clemente, whose magnificent apse dates in the pontificate of Paschal II (1099-1118), and was also a production due to the destruction of the earlier church by Guiscard's Normans; S. Maria in Trastevere, whose mosaics of façade and tribune were ordered by Innocent II, and finished between 1140 and 1148; and S. Maria Nuova, now S. Francesca Romana, whose apsidal mosaic, assigned by Ciampini to the ninth century, is rightly ascribed by De Rossi to a restoration under Alexander III in 1161, because of its close resemblance to the tribune of S. Maria in Trastevere in details of decoration and figures, and in the composition depicted on the arch,—a composition now destroyed, but reproduced by two copies in the Dal Pozzo collection (see page 20).²¹ Although somewhat far apart in date, all three of these churches show a close community of style in their mosaics, and the peculiarities which mark this style are found again in the fresco of S. Lorenzo. Thus the classic attitude and drapery of Peter and Paul, premonitory of the "Roman" style of Cavallini (see page 49), are found again in the St. Peter of S. Maria

²¹ De Rossi, *op. cit.*

in Trastevere and S. Maria Nuova, and in the St. John of S. Clemente. All three have the broad banded garlands filling the spaces of the border, and S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Clemente have the monogram ✠ at the top of the apsidal arch, though in S. Clemente the A and W are added. A formal rendering of the Arc of Heaven, as in the drawing, replaces the clouds of the Carolingian period, and instead of the lanky awkward shapes of the ninth century we find a fuller treatment of the figures and more graceful attitudes.

It is safe, I think, to ascribe the fresco of which Eclissi's drawing is a copy to the twelfth century. As between the rival candidates for the honor of its production, Anacletus II and Celestine III, the latter would seem to be a more likely Mæcenas than an antipope, and yet it must be remembered that Anacletus finished the decoration of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran palace (see page 69). Some reason for preferring Celestine may be found in the greater detail and pomp with which his inscription records the dedication, and more particularly in the fact that the drawing bears a somewhat closer resemblance to the apse of S. Maria Nuova, nearer to the time of Celestine III, than to that of the earlier mosaics of the twelfth century; for example, all the saints in S. Maria Nuova wear the nimbus as in the fresco of S. Lorenzo, while in S. Maria in Trastevere it is accorded only to Christ and the Virgin, and not given at all to Mary and John in the Crucifixion of S. Clemente. The date of the fresco is hardly capable of closer definition, and it is enough to have added an interesting monument to the scanty data by which the revival of Roman painting in the twelfth century is traced.

II. THE TRIBUNE MOSAICS OF SANTA MARIA NUOVA

The apsidal mosaic of S. Maria Nuova (Fig. 3), or S. Francesca Romana, to give the church its modern dedication, is well known, and has already been spoken of in connection with the fresco of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. It is the strangest of all the mosaics of Rome; the setting of the figures in the arcaded background, the curvilinear drawing of the drapery and of the back of the Madonna's throne, and the formal calligraphic treatment of the faces point to an artist unused to the mosaic technique and trained rather as an illuminator of manuscripts. In many details, how-



FIG. 3. INTERIOR OF S. FRANCESCA ROMANA (S. MARIA NUOVA), SHOWING PRESENT APPEARANCE OF THE APSE AND ARCH.

ever, he has imitated his fellow artists of the twelfth century. The formal treatment of the Arc of Heaven, the border, the monogram at the top of the arch, and the classic arrangement of the draperies of Peter and Paul are found again in the fresco of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, in S. Clemente, and in the apse of S. Maria in Trastevere, while the composition on the arch of the last named church was clearly the model for the arch mosaic of S. Maria Nuova.

De Rossi was therefore right in refusing to accept the date in the ninth century which Ciampini gave to the mosaic on the evidence afforded by a passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*. This chronicle, in the Life of Nicholas I (858-867), tells us that this Pope decorated the church, but De Rossi pointed out that it was dedicated anew by Alexander III in 1161, and at the same time received rich gifts from the powerful Cencio Frangipani, whose fortress-palace, built into the old *Turris Cartularia* on the Sacred Way, adjoined the church. This is beyond question the date to which the tribune mosaics of S. Maria Nuova are to be assigned.

The apsidal mosaic is reproduced in one of Dal Pozzo's drawings (Fig. 4).¹ It is a fairly accurate copy, like all of Eclissi's drawings, and the divergence from the existing composition is but slight, with one important exception. Eclissi took some liberties with the border, and with the lowest band of the "Arc of Heaven"; the L which is now seen on St. John's toga is changed to an I, and there is some slight difference in the labels at the feet of the saints. The little clusters of flowers which appear to the left of Peter and to the left of James do not appear in the existing mosaic, and here there is no doubt that the drawing supplies a detail of the original, for the same clusters are found in the reproduction of the mosaic given by Ciampini in Volume II of his *Vetera Monumenta*, of 1690-1699.² The noticeable difference between the drawing and the mosaic as it is to-day and was in the time of Ciampini is the arcuated opening, apparently a window head, in the bottom of the mosaic at its centre, an opening which cuts off the Madonna's feet, the pedestal on which they rested, and the lower part of the uprights of the throne. In the present mosaic these portions have been restored. The

¹ *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. I, fol. 33, no. 8965. Dal Pozzo number 2. Measures 24½ x 37 cm. Pen, gold and color. The drawing shows some variations in color from the apse in its present state, but none of great importance.

² Vol. II, pl. LIII.

uprights are finished at the bottom in a manner somewhat different in Ciampini from that of the present mosaic, but Ciampini is so inaccurate in his treatment of details that no inference can be drawn from this as to a possible reconstruction of the mosaic after his time. On the other hand, the centre of the lowest zone of the apse has certainly been restored since Eclissi copied it in the reign of Urban VIII.



FIG. 4. DRAWING OF THE APSIDAL MOSAIC OF S. MARIA NUOVA.

Some such change is shown by the text of the inscription which borders the apse below. At present it reads: CÔTINET IN GREMIO COELVM TE IN DOMO GENITRIX PROCERES COMITĀTUR ERILEM. There is evidently something the matter with this, for the first hexameter limps at the end and the second at the beginning, while the Latin itself defies translation. Ciampini does not record the inscription in his description of the mosaic, but it was seen and copied in its original state by Pietro Sabino for his epigraphic collection which was presented to Charles VIII of France, when he came to Rome in 1495, and again as late as 1514 by Battista Brunelleschi, who has left a copy in Cod. Vat. 6041.³ According to Sabino and Brunelleschi the inscription read: CONTINET IN GREMIO CELUM TERRAMQUE REGENTEM

³Fol. 28 verso. Cf. De Rossi, *Mosaici cristiani di Roma*.

SANCTA DEI GENITRIX PROCERES COMITANTUR ERILEM.

This restores the prosody and at the same time gives us a title for the mosaic of a fine feudal flavor: "The Holy Mother of God holds in her bosom the Ruler of earth and heaven; the princes (i.e. the Apostles, Peter, Paul, James and Andrew) are in attendance on their Lady's Son."

Carlo de Serva, of whose date we know nothing save that he was living in 1603, has left a copy of the inscription reading as follows: *Continet in gremio celum terramq . . . Genetrix proceres comitantur erilem.*⁴ Eclissi, who in all probability saw the inscription after De Serva, reads: *Continet in gremio celum te . . . re . . . nitrix proceres comitantur erilem.* De Serva evidently overlooked the *re* of *regentem*, which must still have existed at his time, since it appears in Eclissi's copy. At the time the latter was made the letters *rramq* had dropped off, leaving the *te* from which the restorer produced the curious supplement which now appears: *te in domo*. As the fragment containing the *re* must have disappeared when the inscription was restored in its present form, some time must have elapsed after the date when the Dal Pozzo copy was made before the inscription was mended and the missing segment of the lower part of the apsidal mosaic was replaced. The restoration of the mosaic therefore must have taken place after Eclissi's time, and cannot be ascribed, as by De Rossi, to the general renovation of the church undertaken by the Olevitani in 1615. The inscriptions at the feet of the Apostles are practically the same as to-day, and in fact the Eclissi's copy is much more close to the modern labels than is Ciampini's. In one, that of James, there is a difference from the present inscription, which has I ACOBS, divided by the Apostle's right foot, while the drawing gives us IACOBS.

✓ The two hexameters which compose the inscription of the apse of S. Maria Nuova have a more antique flavor than the Leonine verses of the arch (see below). They are found again, with the change of *sancta* to *virgo*, and of *erilem* to *heriles*, in a response of the Christmas service in the antiphonary of St. Peter's at Rome (twelfth century), in which three more hexameters are added, the whole response reading:

*Continet in gremio celum terramque regentem
Virgo dei genitrix: proceres comitantur heriles
Per quos orbis ovans Christo sub principe pollet.
Maternis vehitur qui matrem generat ulnis
Bissenii comites quem stipant agmine fido.*

⁴ Cod. Vallicell. G. 28, fol. 33.

"The virgin, Mother of God, bears in her bosom the Ruler of earth and heaven; the princes chosen by the Master (*proceres heriles*), attend Him, through whom the joyous earth waxes strong beneath the sway of Christ. He who created His mother is carried by His Mother's arms, and His twelve companions surround Him in a faithful troupe." Delaporte,⁵ who first called attention to this response, pointed out that it must have been originally an inscription accompanying a representation of the Virgin and the twelve Apostles. It is earlier in origin than the hexameters of S. Maria Nuova, which were clearly borrowed from the fuller inscription. By taking only the first two hexameters, and the change of *heriles* to (*h*)*erilem*, the mosaicist made the verses apply to his own composition, in which only four of the twelve Apostles appear. The longer stanza, according to Delaporte, may date from the Carolingian period, and Batiffol suggests that it was inscribed originally in the Oratory of the Manger in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, dating in the time of Hadrian I (772-795), or Paschal I (817-824).⁶

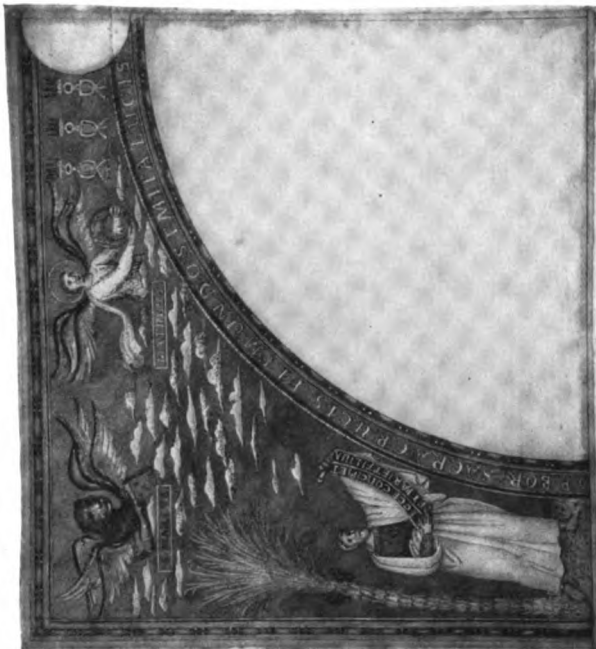
Eclissi's copy of the apsidal mosaic is far surpassed in interest by his drawings of the arch mosaics of S. Maria Nuova, for the latter mosaics are gone to-day, and the drawings are so far as we know the only copies in existence (Plate II.).⁷ The composition is the typical one of the arch mosaics of the twelfth century in Rome; at the summit

⁵ *Rassegna Gregoriana*, 1910, pp. 230-247.

⁶ *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. Fr.*, 1910, p. 366.

⁷ *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. I: fol. 42, no. 8974 (right side of arch). Dal Pozzo number 3. Measures $26\frac{1}{2} \times 31\frac{1}{4}$ cm. Pen, gold and color. Fol. 44, no. 8976 (left side of arch). Dal. Pozzo number 1. Measures $26\frac{1}{4} \times 28\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Pen, gold and color. The color details are as follows: The outside border consists of white dots and violet jewels outlined in yellow, on a red ground. The inscription is in white on violet. The field of the arch is indicated as gold. The cross at the top is red on white within violet. The candlesticks are in white, red, and violet. Of the evangelistic symbols, the lion is in black and gold, with golden wings outlined with black and tipped with white and violet, which are given to the other three symbols as well. He carries a gold and white book with red jewels. The angel wears a yellowish-white garment shaded with black, and with violet shadows on the flying fold, has a violet halo bordered with white, and carries a green wreath with a jewel colored violet on white. The eagle and ox are in yellowish brown shaded with black: the eagle carries a wreath like the angel's, the ox has a book in red and white. The clouds are in red and white. The bird-cages are drawn in reddish purple. In the spandrels the palms have green trunks, with red fruit and green and yellow leaves. The prophets are white-haired and wear red tunics shaded with gold, and pallia in white shaded with violet. Their rolls are outlined in white and inscribed with white letters on red. The labels of the four evangelistic symbols vary in color: those of Mark and Luke are in black on gold; those of Matthew and John are white on violet.

PLATE II



DRAWINGS OF THE MOSAICS FORMERLY ON THE ARCH OF S. MARIA NUOVA.

we see the Greek cross in a medallion with A and W in the lower angles; to the right are four of the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse, the "seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God" (Rev. iv.), and two of the four beasts "round about the throne," recorded in the vision of Revelation, which in Christian symbolism represented the four Evangelists. Here the symbols are duly labelled: S. IOHANNES and S. LUCAS, and are "like a flying eagle" and "like a calf." The heavens are indicated by floating clouds. Below is that curious motif of the bird in a cage which appears again in the arch of S. Maria in Trastevere and has baffled explanation hitherto. In the spandril is the prophet Baruch, who is identified by the quotation which appears upon his scroll: HIC D(EV) S N(OSTE)R ET N(O)N ESTIMABITVR ALIUS † ILLO (Baruch, iii, 35). Behind the prophet is a palm-tree, the usual symbol by which the Christian artists, ever since the fourth century, localised their scenes in Paradise.

The left half of the arch, as recorded by the other of the two drawings, shows at the top three candlesticks and the winged lion and angel, symbols of Mark and Matthew. Below are the bird in its cage, the palm-tree, and the prophet Isaiah, who carries a scroll inscribed: ECCE CONCIPIET ET PARIET FILIVM (Isaiah, vii, 14). Isaiah and Baruch owe their presence in this symbolical complex to the fact that, according to mediæval notions, they are among the prophets who foretold the Coming of Christ. Christ is thus the *Deus noster* of the mystic phrase on Baruch's scroll, and Isaiah's "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son" was related by the mediæval symbolists to the birth of the Saviour.

Along the inner border of the arch runs the inscription:

ARBOR SACRA CRUCIS FIT MUNDO SEMITA LUCIS
QUAM QUI PORTAUIT NOS XPC AD ASTRA LEUAUIT

"The sacred tree of the Cross becomes a path of light to the world,
And Christ who bore it has raised us to the stars."

The reference is obviously to the Greek cross in the medallion at the top of the arch. In the sixteenth century Pietro Sabino copied the first verse of the inscription as follows: GLORIA SCA CRUCIS FIT NOBIS SEMITA LUCIS. It seems to have been altered afterward, for

Carlo de Serva read it: *Gloria sta crucis fit mundo semita lucri (sic)*.⁸ The Dal Pozzo drawing, substituting ARBOR for GLORIA, shows another change, which may date from the restoration by the Olevitani in 1615, to which reference has been made above. The reading given by the drawing is found again in a copy of the arch mosaic which Ciampini describes as being in the possession of his friend and master Johannes Lucius.⁹ Lucius' drawing, however, recorded a different reading for the inscription on Baruch's scroll: *Hic est Deus noster et non aestimabatur alius adversus eum*. The arch mosaic had disappeared when Ciampini's *Vetera Monumenta* was published (1690-1699), and its destruction must therefore have occurred between the reign of Urban VIII, the date of the Windsor drawing, and the appearance of Ciampini's work.

The rhyming hexameters of which this inscription on the arch of S. Maria Nuova offers an example are called, from their supposed inventor, Leonine verses, and are characteristic of the twelfth century. It is true that Ciampini, who dated the arch in the ninth century, found no objection to this date in the rhymed hexameters, but as a matter of fact no others of so early a period are known. The Marquis de Castellane,¹⁰ in his collection of dated French inscriptions of the Middle Ages, gives a few examples of the eleventh century, of which the earliest is the epitaph of Burchard, archbishop of Vienne, who died in 1026. The period of their commonest use, however, was the twelfth century.

These Leonine verses on the arch are thus further confirmation of De Rossi's date of the twelfth century for the mosaics of S. Maria Nuova. The other indications pointing to this period have been mentioned before. Chief among them is the close resemblance of the arch mosaic to that of S. Maria in Trastevere. The two arches are remarkably similar, both having the candlesticks, the four evangelistic symbols, the palm-trees, the birds in cages, and the exceptional motif of the jewelled wreath, instead of a book, which is held by the angel of Matthew and the eagle of St. John. The only differences are found in the substitution at S. Maria Nuova of Baruch for the Jeremiah of S. Maria in Trastevere, and the monogram which appears at the top of the arch in the latter church instead

⁸ Cod. Vallicell. G. 28, fol. 33.

⁹ *Vetera Monumenta*, II, p. 164 ff.

¹⁰ *Inscriptions du XIe au XIIe siècle, recueillies principalement dans le Midi de la France*, in *Mém. Soc. Arch. du Midi la France*, III, 1836-7, pp. 68 ff.

of the Greek cross of S. Maria Nuova. The change to the cross was made to give point to the inscription just discussed. The mosaic of S. Maria in Trastevere was made between 1140 and 1148; the relation of copy to model which that of S. Maria Nuova bears to it is additional confirmation of De Rossi's conclusion that the mosaics of the latter date from the dedication of the church by Alexander III in 1161.

III. THE APSIDAL MOSAIC OF SAN TEODORO

No one knows the origin of this little round church at the foot of the Palatine, but all indications show that it was built at the end of the seventh century, probably on the site of an ancient structure. The church of St. Theodore, which was restored, according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, by Hadrian I, was situated on Monte Savello, near Albano on the Appian Way, and had nothing to do with our S. Teodoro.¹ This church is first heard of in the life of Leo III in the *Liber Pontificalis*,² which records that he made certain gifts to the *diaconia* of St. Theodore. The title of *diaconia* remained with the church till the reign of Sixtus V. Gifts were made to it by Gregory IV in the ninth century, and the *Liber Censuum* shows that in the twelfth century S. Teodoro was already the titular church of a cardinal deacon. There is no reference to any restoration or decoration of the church until the time of Nicholas V, when it was rebuilt during the years 1453-1454. The walls of the rotunda date from this time, but the reconstruction does not seem to have included the apse, which still retains its earlier brickwork. There is nothing to indicate a restoration of the apsidal mosaic at this time, therefore, but there can be no doubt that it was restored between the years 1642 and 1644, when Cardinal Francesco Barberini made a thorough reconstruction of the church. Torrigio, who published his curious book on the "History of the Martyrdom of S. Teodoro" in 1643, while the Barberini restoration was going on, and divides his pages between the praises of the holy saint and eulogies of his cardinal patron, expresses the hope that "the piety of the Signor Cardinal Francesco Barberini

¹ Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* I, p. 508. See De Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1873, p. 102. It is curious to see this old mistake of Barbet de Jouy's repeated by Pératé in Michel's *Histoire de l'art chrétien* (I, 1, p. 80).

² Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* II, p. 12, and p. 41, note 61.

will cause to be restored the mosaic figures, damaged as they are by age and damp, by Giovanni Battista Calandra of Vercelli, who does wonderfully in this kind of work, as his many achievements attest, in order that so beautiful and venerable an antiquity may not perish." Earth-slides from the Palatine damaged the church in the seventeenth century,



FIG. 5. APSIDAL MOSAIC OF S. TEODORO, PRESENT STATE.

making necessary a "dyke" behind it. This was provided by Clement XI in 1704, who restored the church at the same time, without, however, making any changes in the mosaic.³

The Barberini restoration was rather thorough, as one finds on examining the mosaic as it appears to-day (Fig. 5). The gold background is largely modern, the head of Christ and the hand of Paul have been remade, and the saint next to Paul is almost entirely modern from head to feet.⁴ Yet the Signor Giovanni Battista Calandri, by whom

³This summary of the history of the church is taken from De Rossi, *Mosaici cristiani di Roma*. The other citations of De Rossi refer to the same work.

⁴I am indebted for these observations to Dr. Thomas Ashby, Director of the British School in Rome.

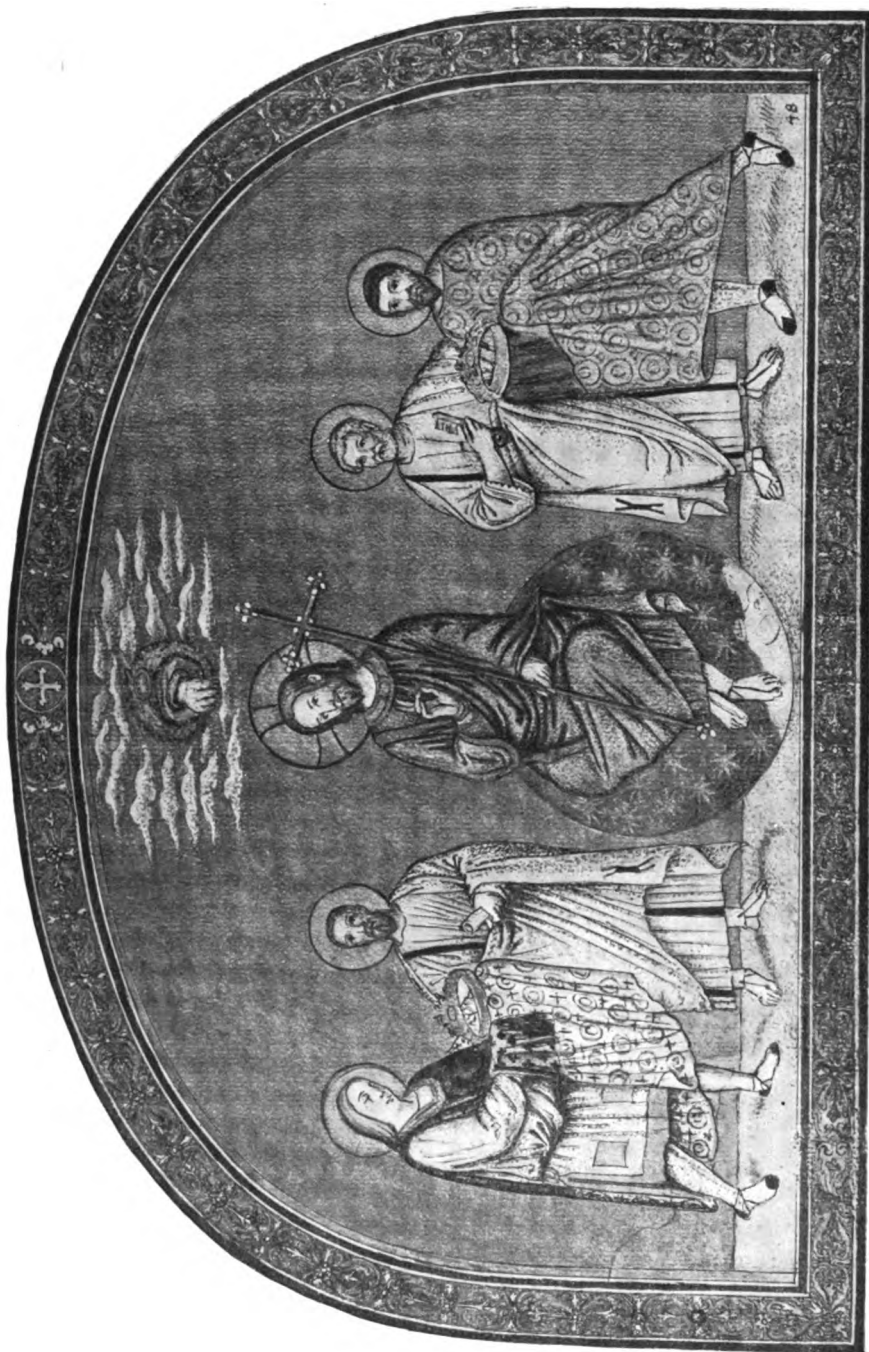
we may suppose the restoration was conducted, respected the outlines of the composition, and made no fundamental changes in the figures themselves. This, though quite contrary to the opinion of De Rossi, will become apparent through a comparison of the existing mosaic with Eclissi's drawing in the Dal Pozzo collection which is here reproduced (Plate III, compare with Fig. 5).⁵

Within a formal floral border, marked at the top by a white cross in a medallion, is an apsidal composition of the type usual in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Hand of God above issues from the clouds of Heaven and holds a jewelled wreath over the head of Christ. The Saviour is seated on a purple globe decorated with gold stars, wears a crimson robe and a crossed nimbus, and carries a cross tipped with little white jewels at the extremities. To the left of Christ is St. Paul, in a violet tunic striped with black, and white pallium, holding a scroll in his left hand, and opposite him on the other side of the Saviour is St. Peter in similar dress, carrying in his right hand the Key of Heaven. St. Peter presents to Christ the saint at the right end of the row, who offers a jewelled wreath, veiling his hands in the folds of his yellow chlamys. This is embroidered in red and decorated with a large patch in purple. St. Paul performs the same office for another saint of a more youthful appearance, an effect due to his long hair, beardless face, and short tunic. The tunic is white with a gold border. This saint also carries a jewelled wreath or crown, and wears a white chlamys decorated with circles and crosses, and also with a large purple patch which is prolonged over the shoulders and back like an overdress, and embroidered with lilies.

The composition is typical of the "Greek" period in Roman art, a period corresponding to the sixth and seventh centuries. It was a time when the Popes themselves were largely Eastern in origin, and Greek monastic communities were established in Rome. At this time, in consequence no doubt of the Oriental tendencies of the Roman see, ecclesiastical art breaks away from the pseudo-classic style of the fourth and fifth centuries, which even in its crudities recalls the better days of Roman art, and frankly adopts the formal decorative methods of the Christian East. The

⁵ *Mosaici Antichi*, Vol. I, fol. 41, no. 8973. Dal Pozzo number 48. Measures 23¼ x 36¼ cm. Pen, gold and color.

PLATE III



apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano is the first of the Roman mosaics to show the new style with certitude; it appears again in the arch of St. Lawrence-outside-the-Walls, and after these monuments of the sixth century still dominates the art of the seventh, as at S. Stefano Rotondo, and here at S. Teodoro. It is true that our mosaic has been dated by some at the end of the eighth century in the reign of Hadrian I, but this opinion rests, as was said before, on a misapprehension of a passage in the life of that pontiff as recorded by the *Liber Pontificalis*. Aside from the general resemblance to the Roman Byzantine works mentioned above, there are characteristic details in the mosaic which connect it with other works of the Greek period in Rome and distinguish it from the mosaics and frescoes of the Carolingian "renaissance" which began at the end of the eighth century. The latter show a tendency to lengthen the figures and to attenuate the garlands of the borders; the saints are represented frontally and the compositions lack unity. This is not seen at S. Teodoro, while on the other hand we find here the motif of Christ seated on the globe, which occurs at St. Lawrence-outside-the-Walls, and is doubtless imitated from the same motif in the sixth century apse of S. Vitale at Ravenna, or other North Italian monuments of the same period. There is, moreover, a unity in the group of Christ and the saints, due chiefly to the obsequious movement of the figures at the ends of the row toward the Saviour in the centre, which is found in all the mosaics of the sixth and seventh centuries—at SS. Cosma e Damiano, St. Lawrence-outside-the-Walls, and S. Stefano Rotondo. Lastly, the saint near St. Peter is in type, dress and attitude a fairly close replica of the figure which occupies the same relative position in the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano.

This makes possible the identification of the figure in the apse of S. Teodoro as the titular saint of the church, for his double in SS. Cosma e Damiano is labelled *Sanc(tus) Theodorus*. The identity of his vis-à-vis near St. Paul is an enigma, but to the many attempts that have been made to give him a name I may add my own suggestion that he represents St. George. A Greek saint makes a natural pendant and companion to St. Theodore, whose cult was Eastern rather than Western, and whose appearance in the mosaics and among the saints of Rome is due, as at SS. Cosma e Damiano, to Byzantine influence. The cavalier's costume which he wears is consistent with an early East Christian rendering of the saint;

he is usually a knight in Coptic art. Moreover Torrigio,⁶ quoting Nicolo Signorile, says that relics of St. George were preserved in the church of S. Teodoro. Mabillon⁷ suggested Charlemagne or Charles of Anjou (!), and De Rossi thought that we may have here to do with St. Theodore Tyron, the "recruit," distinguished in Byzantine hagiology from Theodore "Stratelates" or "captain." Against this stands the fact that St. Theodore Tyron is shown with a beard in Byzantine art (compare his figure on the Harbaville ivory triptych in the Louvre, and in the mosaics of St. Luke in Phocis).⁸

Our reproduction of the drawing, being without color, at first sight seems close to the existing mosaic, but there are some striking differences. The robe of Christ is red instead of the muddy green which one now sees; the cross at the top of the border is white instead of the present gold. The Saviour sits on a purple globe instead of the present blue one, and blesses in the "Greek" manner, holding the third finger against the thumb, while in the mosaic of to-day He holds the last two fingers against the thumb in the "Latin" fashion. The patch on the dress of the saint near St. Paul is purple instead of the present dark green, and is adorned with lilies which now no longer appear. St. Theodore's chlamys also has a purple patch in the drawing which now is changed to black. The violet tunics of Peter and Paul have changed to white with blue shadows. Lastly, on the fold of Christ's pallium to the right is another detail which has since disappeared, a small ornament shaped like an X, and similar to the one on the pallium of St. Peter.

These divergences bring up the question whether the drawing represents the mosaic in its original state before the Barberini restorations. De Rossi is very positive that it does not. De Rossi, however, though he often cites the Windsor drawings, never actually examined them, and was rather poorly served by those who described them for him. This is apparent from the inaccuracies in his citations of the drawings, and particularly in this case, for he tells us that "in the collection of the original drawings of Cavaliere dal Pozzo which is preserved at Windsor Castle, the mosaic of S. Teodoro is not to be found (!)." He knew the

⁶ *Historia del Martirio di San Teodoro*, p. 273.

⁷ *Museum Italicum*, I, p. 231.

⁸ Schulz and Barnsley, *The Monastery of St. Luke in Phocis*, pl. 49.

drawing only from an engraving of it published by Mabillon,⁹ and regarded it as practically a replica of another colored copy of the mosaic existing in Marini's collection of Christian inscriptions.¹⁰ Comparing the drawing as he knew it with the existing mosaic, De Rossi arrived at the conclusion that the Dal Pozzo copy was done after the Barberini restoration, or served as pattern for it.

To make the question quite clear it is necessary to repeat Torrigio's description of the mosaic as it appeared before restoration:¹¹ "In the tribune may be seen five figures made in the good times of mosaic, considered more ancient than those which are in SS. Cosma e Damiano and also better. The said figures represent our Saviour blessing with His right hand, and holding the ring finger against the thumb; with the left hand He holds a long staff in the form of the Cross adorned with jewels in its angles. His robe is a long one of red color, in a fold of which is a mark which means *Christus* or *Icsus*. He is seated on a globe adorned with stars; above His head we see a hand coming from Heaven, which holds a green garland with an egg shaped purple gem in the middle, making allusion to the words of the eighth Psalm: 'Thou hast crowned Him with glory and honor,' which mean Christ considered as man. On His left hand we see St. Paul with a long face and black beard, in white robe with black bands from the shoulders to the lower edge, holding with his left hand the rolled up scroll, which represents his Epistles, with a sign in the fold of his pallium which is a black mark like an I; this being the initial of the Greek word *Ichthibolos*, meaning the same as 'fisherman,' and indicating that he, as also St. Peter, who has the same mark, are the fishers of men, which is what the Saviour meant when He said 'I shall make ye fishers of men,' having reference also to the other apostles. Concerning this I refer to more learned interpreters. Near St. Paul is seen a figure of a holy person, in an undergarment of white, and girded up, and over this is a vestment worked with crosses, spheres and lilies; holding both hands under this, the figure carries a garland of flowers, offering it to Christ in sign of virginity, and of holy espousal as the church chant has it, 'Come thou bride of Christ,' or of Martyrdom ac-

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 231, plate.

¹⁰ Cod. Vat. 9071, P. 225.4.

¹¹ Torrigio, *op. cit.*, pp. 270 ff.

according to the words 'Behold the martyrs with their crowns'; and because one cannot tell whether it is a male or female saint (*se sia santo, ò santa*). I say no more concerning it. On the left hand again we see St. Peter holding a key in his right hand and dressed in the same garment as St. Paul on the other side; near him is S. Teodoro in a long robe of gold with red embroidery, offering the garland or diadem, or wreath of flowers; he has a bearded face, and a circlet around his head. Around the tribune runs a mosaic frieze of varied character, which contains in the middle a white cross showing that the church was consecrated, but by whom I am not now ready to state." In his discussion of the image of St. Theodore Torrigio gives additional details regarding this figure: "tonsure on the top of his head"; his robe "reaching almost to his feet, closed on all sides, which could be called a *pianeta*"; his left leg "in act of genuflexion," and his hands covered by his robe; his feet clad in shoes without any uppers, but with soles bound with bands.

Let us now hear De Rossi. Speaking of a misprint in Panciroli's *Roma Sacra e Moderna* (Rome, 1726) by which the Barberini restoration was dated 1674 instead of 1644, he says: "This detail merits attention, for if the Barberini restoration had been done in 1674, the above-mentioned drawing (referring to the Dal Pozzo copy) would be a precious document on the state of the mosaic before Calandri da Vercelli touched it. But this is not the case." After quoting from Torrigio's description and comparing it with the present mosaic, he again mentions the drawing: "with the exception of the lilies embroidered on the false overdress of the anonymous saint next to Paul, (the drawing) corresponds to the present state of the monument; and this shows that the drawing is later than the restoration and the replacing of the missing parts, or that it served as prototype for the work (of restoration)."

De Rossi, as has been said, based his notion of the Windsor Drawing on the engraving of it which Mabillon published in the *Museum Italicum* (1687). Mabillon describes the drawing: "*Romæ ex templo sancti Theodori martyris ab illustrissimo Commendatore Puteano* (Dal Pozzo) *expressa*." Lacking color, and leaving out the border and other details, the engraving could not give De Rossi a correct idea of the drawing, and it is not surprising that he notes only the one divergence from the existing mosaic which is clearly indicated in Mabillon's copy, the lilies on

the overgarment of the saint next to Paul, and concludes from the apparent completeness of Eclissi's copy that it was done after the "missing" parts of the mosaic had been restored by Cardinal Barberini. But the word *mancanti*, used by Torrigio in his description, is quite as susceptible of the translation "damaged" as of the stronger rendering "missing." There is one detail of the drawing, moreover, which De Rossi should have noted, since it is indicated, though faintly, in the engraving of Mabillon, a detail which makes it altogether impossible that the Windsor drawing should be subsequent to the Barberini restoration or that it served as a pattern for Calandri. This is the white segment of the globe on which Christ is seated, indicating a missing portion of the mosaic. If the drawing were a copy of the newly restored mosaic—I say newly restored, for the drawing cannot have been made later than 1657, when Cassiano dal Pozzo died—or if it were a model for the restorer, it would not thus record a damaged portion of the apse.

Again the differences of the drawing from the present mosaic in the matter of color are very marked, and it is significant how closely these and other differences correspond to the details in which also Torrigio's description diverges from the existing composition. Such are the red of Christ's robe and the white cross at the top of the border; the different position of the fingers of the Saviour's hand; the lilies on the overdress of the saint next to Paul, which doubtless suggested Charles of Anjou to Mabillon, and lastly the little decorative design on the fold of the Saviour's robe. Every one of these details is found in Torrigio's description of the mosaic as it was *before* the Barberini restoration, even to the little mark on the pallium of the seated Christ, which has a form that might be taken for the letter X or a decorated I, and thus explains Torrigio's remark that it "means *Christus* or *Iesus*."

Lastly, the drawing, like all the others discussed in this monograph, betrays the style of Antonio Eclissi, who was the artist employed by Cardinal Francesco Barberini to copy for him the ancient mosaics and frescoes in the churches of Rome.

The Windsor drawing therefore represents the mosaic of S. Teodoro before its restoration in 1642-1644. Does it also represent it in its original state? In other words are we to attribute the modern portions to the Barberini restoration alone, or in part to earlier ones? The principal argu-

ments in favor of the latter view are (1) that the drawing represents the mosaic in so well preserved condition that it would seem unlikely that Calandri put in all the remade portions that are now visible, and (2) the overdress of the saint near St. Paul is unusual in the vestiary of mediæval art and looks, as De Rossi says, as if a restorer had made it by enlarging an original patch like that on the chlamys of St. Theodore. The last argument can hardly be regarded as conclusive. As to the first, it is to be noted that the Windsor drawings seem to record only the more obvious of the missing portions of the compositions of which they are copies. Torrigio's word *mancauti*, applied to the figures as he and Eclissi saw them, may well mean that they were simply damaged in spots, and Dal Pozzo's copyist would naturally leave out such minor deficiencies. He noted the larger ones, as is seen in the case of the missing segment of the globe, and it is possible that the lines in the lower left hand corner of the drawing, one running from the border to the robe of the saint on St. Paul's right, the other from the lower edge of the robe across his left leg, were meant to indicate another missing portion which the artist saw fit to supply. Lastly, most of the modern work is found in the background and in the figure of this same saint. One can hardly hope that the copyist noted every piece of the gold background that was missing, and so far as the saint is concerned, it is precisely in his case that the drawing differs most from the modern mosaic, which suppresses the lilies on his overgarment. Everything considered, the modern portions of the mosaic may be attributed to the Barberini restoration.¹² As no previous restoration is mentioned in existing records, it is probable that Eclissi's drawing represents the mosaic of S. Teodoro in its primitive state.

¹² Later restorers of the church do not seem to have changed the mosaic. See De Rossi, *op. cit.*

IV. THE APSIDAL MOSAIC OF SS. COSMA E DAMIANO

The mosaic (Fig. 6) which adorns the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano in the Roman Forum, is easily the most beautiful in Rome. This it owes to the fact that it is the first of the Roman mosaics to show the newly formed Byzantine style in the fulness of its decorative splendor, and to use its deep and quiet color harmony of blue and green and gold.

Against a deep blue background the figure of Christ stands in relief against a pathway of glittering sunset clouds. A strip of lighter blue below is labelled JORDANES; it symbolizes here the River of Life. The



FIG. 6. APSIDAL MOSAIC OF SS. COSMA E DAMIANO, PRESENT STATE.

note of mystic symbolism in fact pervades the whole composition, and proceeds not only from the formal symbols, like the palms that stand for Paradise, and the phoenix, bird of immortality, which perches on the outermost branch of the palm-tree to the left, but also from the hieratic postures and earnest outward gaze of the saints who approach Christ from either side. The literal subject of the apse is the presentation to Christ, by Sts. Peter and Paul, of the patron saints of the church, Cosmas and Damian. These were two Arab physicians who ministered to the sick without pay, and after a life of good works attained martyrdom in the persecution of Diocletian. Each carries the token of his profession in the shape of a little red medicine case, a detail which is seen more plainly in the figure of the saint to Christ's left, who carries it half concealed by his pallium. The composition is completed to the right of the picture by the figure of St. Theodore Stratelates, previously mentioned in connection with the apsidal mosaic of S. Teodoro. The corresponding figure on the other side is Pope Felix IV (526-530), who, as the builder of the church, carries a model of it in his hands.

The mosaic has had a curious history. It dates from the sixth century, having formed part of the original decoration given the church by its builder Felix IV. Gregory XIII (1572-1585), one of whose peculiarities was a cult of his great namesakes in the earlier ages of the Church, removed the ancient figure of Felix and replaced it with an image of Gregory the Great. This is the figure which appears in one of Eclissi's drawings of the Dal Pozzo collection showing the state of the mosaic in the time of Urban VIII (Fig. 7).¹ The figure is a typical product of the late Renaissance, depicting the great Pope attired in tiara and the papal robes, holding a book and the key of St. Peter, and inspired by the Dove of the Holy Ghost which hovers at his ear.

The Windsor drawing is not the only available record of this change in the mosaic. Ciacconio's collection of drawings in the Vatican library includes a copy of the left side of the apse made shortly after the insertion of the image of Gregory the Great.² Pompeo Ugonio's book on the

¹ *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. I, fol. 80, no. 9019. Dal Pozzo number 36. Measures 25 x 47½ cm. Pen and color.

² Ms. 5407, fol. 205. A copy of this drawing is preserved in the Ambrosiana at Milan (221 inf. IV).

"Stations of Rome," previously cited in connection with the fresco in the apse of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, tells of the change made by Gregory XIII, and adds that Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Torrigio's patron, had in his possession a copy of the figure of Felix IV which was taken out at that time. Suarez,³ in a manuscript note, confirms the statement of Ugonio, and afterward when the old figure was restored under Alexander VII by



FIG. 7. DRAWING OF THE APSIDAL MOSAIC OF SS. COSMA E DAMIANO. A DRAWING OF THE LOWER FRIEZE OF THE APSE IS REPRODUCED IN FIG. 1.

this same Cardinal Barberini, Suarez, who directed the restoration, seems to have been guided by the Barberini copy. The present figure of Pope Felix (Fig. 8) therefore, in all probability gives a fair notion of what the original looked like, in spite of its obvious modernism of face and hair and drapery.

Gregory XIII was not the only Pope who meddled with the mosaic. Urban VIII, to whose reconstruction of the church is due the abbreviation of the arch which was mentioned in the Introduction, also inserted under the soffit of the arch the present baroque archivolt, and cut an oval window in the top of the vault of the apse, operations which concealed the border and removed at the summit of the apse the monogram, and the Hand of God which in the original composition held a wreath over the head of Christ.

³ *Cod. Vat.* 9127, p. 169.

The Windsor drawing corresponds very closely to the present mosaic, save that Eclissi gives a purplish hue to the background, and it shows that the apse has undergone no essential changes since the time of Urban VIII. Exception must of course be made of the figure of Gregory the Great. Aside from the interest it affords in this respect, the drawing is important

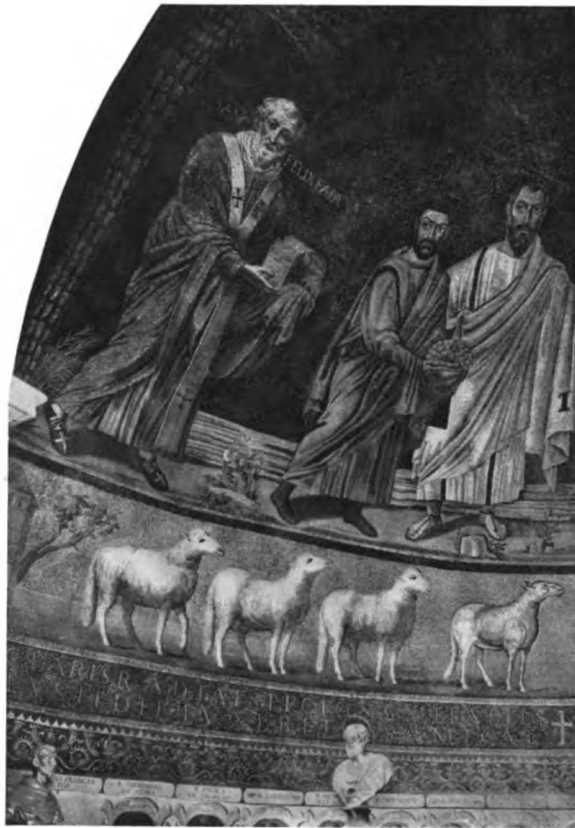


FIG. 8. DETAIL OF THE APSIDAL MOSAIC OF SS. COSMA E DAMIANO, SHOWING THE MODERN FIGURE OF POPE FELIX IV.

as the only complete record of the appearance of the mosaic before the alterations under Urban VIII, restoring the Hand of God and the wreath at the top of the apse, and the rich border of garlands banded spirally by a ribbon,⁴ with the medallion at the summit inclosing the monogram flanked by the mystic letters Λ and Ω . The phoenix which in the present

⁴ The green leaves of the garland are relieved with red and white blossoms. The outer inclosing bands are red and blue, the inner are black.

mosaic perches on the branch of the palm-tree to the left is rendered by Eclissi as hovering in the air beside the uplifted hand of Christ. It is certain that in the original mosaic the phoenix was placed as it is at the present day, for when Paschal I, in the ninth century, copied the whole composition for his apse of S. Prassede he perched the phoenix on the branch of a palm-tree in awkward but faithful imitation of the present arrangement. It is probable that Dal Pozzo's artist did not see the branch on which the phoenix rested, or that this detail had become mutilated or destroyed, so that he conceived the bird as hovering in the air and, taking it very naturally for the Dove of the Holy Ghost, drew it nearer the figure of Christ than it really is.

V. THE FRESCOES OF THE ORATORY OF S. PUDENZIANA

Paul, in a letter to Timothy, sends him the greetings of Pudens.¹ Out of this trio of names there has evolved an ancient legend, embodied in the curious "Acts of Saints Pudentiana and Praxedes."² According to this story Pudens, who was the disciple of Paul at Rome, had two sons, Timothy and Novatus, and two daughters, Pudentiana (or Potentiana) and Praxedes. Pudens before his death transformed his house in the Vicus Patricius, or Vicus Patricii, as it is more properly called, into a Christian church under the name *titulus Pastoris*. The church was named, according to the chronicle, after the Pastor who purports to be the author of the "Acts," a priest who acted as the friend and adviser of the children of Pudens after their father's death. The two daughters gave their goods to the poor, and Novatus at his death left his property to his surviving sister Praxedes, and to Pastor. The "Acts" are in the form of a letter written by Pastor to Timothy, recounting these events, together with another letter from Timothy to Pastor in which he consents to Novatus's legacy, and a narrative appendix telling of the transformation of the "Baths of Novatus" in the Vicus Lateritius into a second church which thereafter bore the name *titulus Praxedis*.

The story is evidently constructed to explain the origin of the two very old Roman churches of Santa Pudenziana and Santa Prassede. The first one, supposed to have been built in the house of Pudens, may at one time have borne the name *titulus Pastoris* given it by the "Acts," but it first appears in early inscriptions under the appellation *titulus Pudentis* or *ecclesia Pudentiana*, and it is probable that it was from a misunderstanding of the adjective in the latter phrase that the saint "Pudentiana" was manufactured. The *ecclesia Pudentiana*, at any rate, was in exist-

¹ II. Tim. iv, 21.

² Migne, *Patr. Græc.* II, col. 1019 ff.

ence at least as early as the end of the fourth century, for it is mentioned by this name in the epitaph of one of its lectors who died in 384. S. Prassede is nearly as old; it has left records of itself as far back as the fifth century.

The later tradition of the Roman Church, ever jealous of the dignity of its first head, turned Pudens into a disciple of *Peter*, made him a Roman senator, and identified him with the patrician whose son was raised by Peter from the dead by way of confounding Simon the Magician. Yet the old Pauline tradition lasted far on into the Middle Ages, and this is demonstrated by the frescoes which form the material of the present chapter, since most of them have to do with the ministry of Paul in the house of Pudens.³

These paintings adorn the walls of a little oratory behind the apse of the ancient church of S. Pudenziana. They are half ruined now and almost unknown, for the way to the oratory leads through a nunnery to which visitors are seldom admitted. One of the frescoes was reproduced in Ciampini's *Vetera Monimenta*,⁴ and they were described in an unsatisfactory manner by Armellini in his *Chiese di Roma*.⁵ Wilpert was the first to interpret them properly, and to point out their connection with the older legend of Pudens contained in the *Acta SS. Pudentiana et Praxedis*.⁶ He had an opportunity to examine them in 1906, and at that time had them copied for his work on the paintings of the Middle Ages.

On the wall to the left as one enters is a lunette, divided vertically by a border, in which are found the two scenes of which the Eclissi drawing here reproduced (Plate IV) is a copy.⁷ The scene on the left is much damaged at the present day, having lost two-thirds of the figure of Paul and also a portion of the inscription. The drawing restores the scene completely; it is a picture of Paul preaching to his disciples. The white haired Pudens stands at the Apostle's left hand, with Novatus and the two virgins. To his right are Timothy and three youths representing, no doubt, the converts which the Apostle made in the house of his host.

The picture on the right is the one reproduced in Ciampini's plate, and

³ On the Pudens legend see Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichte und Apostellegende*, II, p. 418 ff.

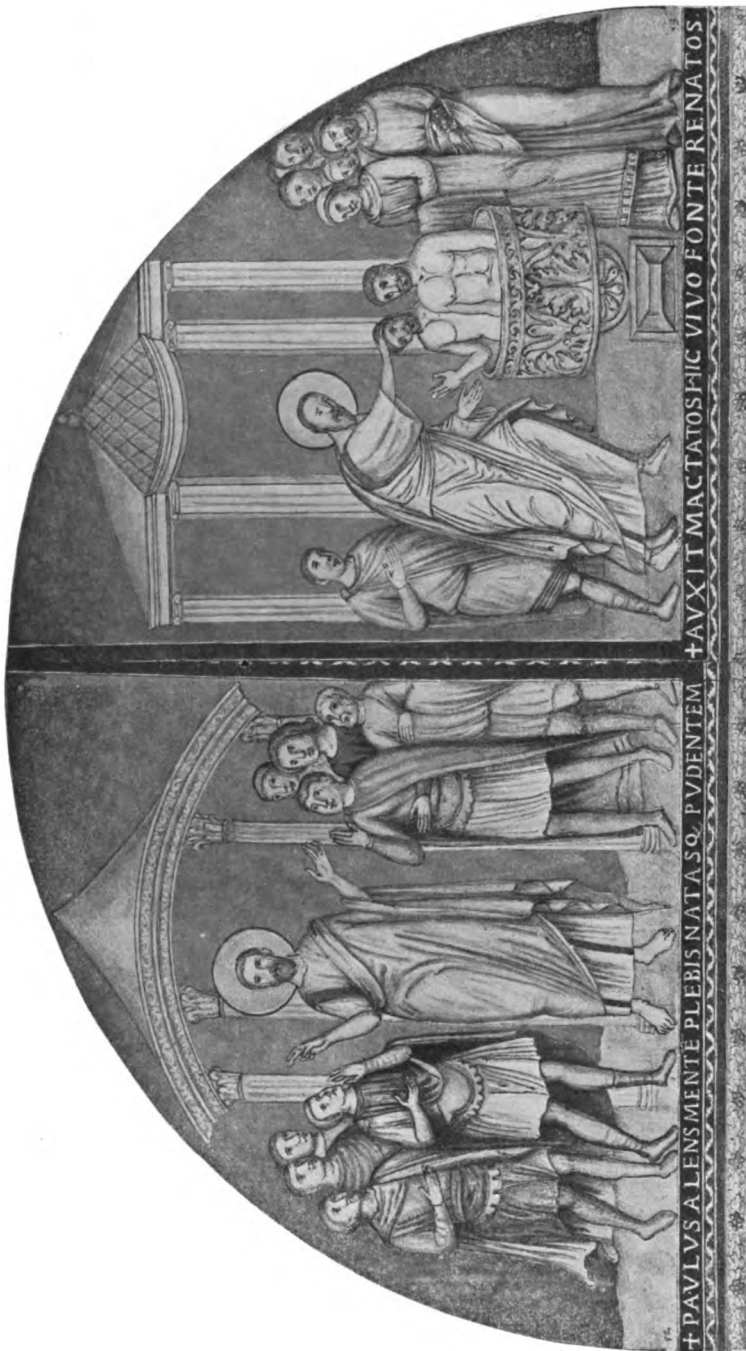
⁴ Vol. II., pl. VI.

⁵ 2nd ed. pp. 194 ff.

⁶ *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1908, p. 173 ff.

⁷ *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. I, fol. 85, no. 9024. Dal Pozzo numbers 52, 53. Measures 28¾ x 51½ cm. Pen and color.

PLATE IV



DRAWING OF A FRESCO IN THE ORATORY OF S. PUDENZIANA.

is still in good condition. St. Paul is baptizing the two sons of Pudens, Timothy and Novatus. To the right of the font stand Pudentiana and Praxedes, one of whom holds her brother's tunic. Four disciples make up the rest of the group. To the left, behind Paul, is a youth dressed in the costume of a mediæval noble. The inscription which runs beneath the pictures reads:

† PAULUS ALENS MENTE(m) PLEBIS NATASQ(ue)
PUDENTEM^s
† AUXIT MACTATOS HIC VIVO FONTE RENATOS.

The Latin is thoroughly mediæval and bad, but may be rendered: "Paul, giving sustenance to the spirit of his flock, and to Pudens and his daughters, blessed them that were dead and here are born again in living water."

Beneath the lunette above described are two badly damaged pictures brought to light by Wilpert, who removed the plaster under which they had been concealed. Both have lost much of their area by the piercing of an arcuated opening in the wall beneath them; the one on the right is nearly all gone, but enough remains to show that the subject was again a baptism in which Paul and one of the daughters figured. The other is reproduced in one of Eclissi's drawings (Fig. 9).⁹ In front of an edifice which is summarily indicated by an entablature supported on pilasters Paul is giving to Timothy his ordination as a Christian priest. The Apostle is attended by a youth and what appears to be a maiden—the dress of the figure is apparently that of a female, but the copyist seems to have indicated a tonsure. In the fresco in its present state, to judge from Wilpert's description, the two saints are all that is now left of the scene. The inscription too is omitted in his description; a fragment of it is recorded in our drawing: A C ANXII. The colors used here are in general those of the whole series: the background is violet with a ground strip in pale green, while the colonnade behind the figures is in white outlined with dark green. The pilasters are shadowed with thin red or pink and relieved against a violet background; the haloes are painted with yellow outlined with white and red; Paul wears a violet tunic and a light

⁹ Wilpert restored as follows: *Paulus a[lloqu]ins plebis nata[s]q. Pudentem.*

⁹ *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. I, fol. 88, no. 9027. Dal Pozzo number C. Measures 25 x 25 cm. Pen and color.

green mantle, the youth a red upper garment bordered with yellow, and pink hose; the maiden (?) has a violet robe with a mantle of yellow.

The series was originally continued on the opposite wall, but here the frescoes have disappeared. Over the altar on the wall opposite the entrance appears a fresco representing the Virgin and the Child with Pudentiana and Praxedes standing beside her throne and offering crowns;



FIG. 9. DRAWING OF A FRESCO IN THE ORATORY OF S. PUDENZIANA.

a copy of it is found among the Dal Pozzo drawings.¹⁰ This fresco, however, is well preserved and the drawing adds no more than a few missing letters to the names of the two saints which are inscribed beside them. The same is true of another drawing¹¹ which reproduces the fragmentary fresco over the doorway, representing an angel crowning St. Valerian, beside whom stand St. Tiburtius and the bishop Urban,—a composition derived from the story of St. Cecilia.

The chapel is covered with a groined vault, which is adorned with



FIG. 10. DRAWING OF THE CEILING-FRESCO OF THE ORATORY OF S. PUDENZIANA.

¹⁰ *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. I, fol. 89, no. 9028. Dal Pozzo number D. Measures 28¾ x 23 cm. Pen drawing.

¹¹ *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. I, fol. 46, no. 8978. Dal Pozzo number E. Measures 20 x 37½ cm. Pen and color.

fresco. The decoration here is divided into five panels by ornamental borders which repeat the motifs used in the borders of the frescoes on the side walls, showing that the whole series including the ceiling belongs to the same period. The central panel of the ceiling is decorated with the nimbed Lamb of God, and the others with the symbols of the Evangelists. All these figures are still in fair preservation and the copy of the ceiling which appears among the Windsor drawings (Fig. 10)¹² is chiefly valuable in preserving the inscriptions. Wilpert found these badly mutilated in places and comparison of his readings with those of the drawing shows that he was not only wrong in his supplements but, apparently, mistaken in some of the still remaining letters. He attempted, for example, to fill the lacunæ of the inscription around the central medallion as follows:

†AGNVS HONOR (*is in nu?*) BES OSTIA VITE (*que*) DEVSQVE

The drawing gives the inscription: † *Agnus honor mundi, spes ostia vita salusque*; "The Lamb, the Glory of the world, our Hope, Door, Life and Salvation." Wilpert found the inscription over the lion of St. Mark destroyed "bis auf den Namen MARCO und die Endung RIS"; it is given in the drawing: *Vox clamantis, ais, qua, Marce, leone notaris*; "The voice of one crying, thou sayest,—wherefore, Mark, art thou signified by the lion."

The four beasts of Revelation, typifying the four Evangelists, are perhaps the commonest symbol in Christian art, and have already been mentioned with reference to the arch of S. Maria Nuova. The symbolism is very old, deriving from the Christian imagery of the second century. Later on the churchmen sought to rationalize the types on the basis of characteristic features in the content of each Gospel: Matthew was the man because his Gospel begins with the genealogy of Christ after the flesh; Mark, whose opening sentences tell of the mission of John, the "voice crying in the wilderness," was fitly typified by the lion; the ox was given to Luke because it was the animal of sacrifice, and his Gospel begins with the sacrifice of Zacharias; John is the eagle because his spiritual message transports us aloft to the very heart of divinity. Jerome seems to have been the first of the Fathers to distribute the symbols in this fashion and

¹² *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. I, fol. 84, no. 9023. Measures 37¼ x 37¼ cm. Pen and color. Inscribed: "Pitture nel volto della capella superiore dietro alla tribuna in Santa Pudentiana."

at the same time to justify them in the manner described.¹³ He was followed by Gregory the Great, who summarizes the symbolism as follows: "For Matthew, because he begins with the human genealogy (of Christ) is justly signified by the man; Mark by reason of the 'crying in the wilderness' is rightly typified by the lion; Luke, beginning with a sacrifice, is properly figured by the ox; while John, since he communes with the Word's divinity, is properly designated by the eagle."¹⁴ Gregory passed the concept on to the Carolingian period,¹⁵ and from that time on it is a commonplace of mediæval symbolism, appearing finally in the vast compendium of mediæval learning known as the *Speculum Maius*, which Vincent of Beauvais compiled in the thirteenth century. The most complete and picturesque presentation of the notion is that found in the well-known hymn *De SS. Evangelistis* of Adam of St. Victor (d. 1172-1192):

Formam viri dant Matthæo
Quia scripsit sic de Deo
Sicut descendit ab eo
Quem plasmavit, homine.
Lucas bos est in figura
Ut præmonstrat in Scriptura
Hostiarum tangens iura
Legis sub velamine.

Marcus, leo per desertum
Clamans, rugit in apertum
Iter fiat Deo certum
Mundum cor a crimine.
Sed Ioannes, ala bina
Caritatis, aquilina
Forma fertur in divina
Puriori lumine.

This is the thought that inspires the Leonine verse above Mark's lion on our ceiling fresco. Similar verses attend the other symbols. The eagle is inscribed: *Arcanis scandit facies aquilina Johannis*: "The eagle form of John penetrates the secrets (of Heaven)." Matthew's angel has

¹³ *Comm. in Ezech.* chap. 1.

¹⁴ *Hom. in Ezech.* II, 4, 1. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 76, col. 815.

¹⁵ Compare the verses which accompany the pictures of the Evangelists in the *Codex* of St. Emmeran (ninth century, Munich, Cimel. 55):

Humanum Christi describit Mattheus ortum
More boat Marcus frendentis voce leonis.
Mugit amore pio Lucas in carmine Christi.
Scribendo penetras caelum tu mente Joannes.

above his head the verse: *Frons hominis pandit Xpi* (Christi) *cōmercia carnis*: "The face of a man portrays the Incarnation of Christ in the flesh." The copyist gives the inscription for Luke: *Luca boantis spectr(um) et sorte(m) mutat arantis*. Wilpert read: (*bovis*) BOANCIS (=boantis) SPECIES TE MVTAT ARANTIS, with apparent disregard of lacunæ. The inscription of the drawing must represent the original, and forces acceptance of the first word *Luca* as a decadent form of the nominative *Lucas*, translating: "Luke changes the aspect and the lot of the lowing beast of the plow"—a sentiment that does not impress by its clarity and distinction, but is none the less consistent with the Latinity of the period.

The period in question is the end of the eleventh century, if Wilpert's verdict on the date of the frescoes is accepted. This is based on their resemblance in style to the frescoes of that epoch which were found in the lower church of S. Clemente, and is supported by the fact that the church of S. Pudenziana received a thorough restoration at the hands of Gregory VII (1075-1085). The use of the Leonine verses would not be inconsistent with such a date (see page 23).

VI. THE SIGNATURE OF PIETRO CAVALLINI

Pietro Cavallini some years ago was a rather pale personality among the painters of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, endeavoring to reconstruct his *oeuvre* from the irresponsible biography of the artist which we owe to Giorgio Vasari, make him a pupil of the Cosmati, much influenced by Giotto. It was Hermanin's publication of Cavallini's remarkable frescoes in S. Cecilia in Trastevere that brought the Roman master the appreciation which was his due, and proved him no disciple of Giotto, nor one who "mixed his manner with that of the Greeks," as Vasari puts it, but a thoroughly independent painter, neither Tuscan nor Byzantine, but Roman in the fullest sense. For he was able to revive with understanding and power the old Roman traditions of form, and through them to arrive at a conception of nature both noble and true. There can be no doubt that Giotto knew him and came under his influence when he visited Rome at the end of the thirteenth century. Cavallini perhaps deserves part of the credit for the ideal dignity which invests the later work of the Florentine painter.

Little is known of the career of Cavallini, save that his lifetime lasted from about 1250 to about 1330. Vasari's biography is a mass of errors, and there are but few works whose attribution is certain. His signature has been found on only one of the works ascribed to him.

The work in question is the mosaic decoration of the lower part of the apse of S. Maria in Trastevere at Rome. Vasari says that Cavallini did these mosaics, a statement which would carry little weight were it not confirmed by the famous Florentine sculptor Lorenzo Ghiberti, who according to Hermanin visited Rome between 1397 and 1400, about seventy years after Cavallini's death,¹ and mentions these mosaics in his list of Cavallini's works.

¹ Hermanin, s.v. *Cavallini* in Thieme-Becker, *Allg. Lexikon der bild. Künstler*.

I have spoken of the tribune mosaics of S. Maria in Trastevere in the chapters on the fresco of S. Lorenzo in Lucina and the mosaics of S. Maria Nuova. In these cases the mosaics referred to are those which decorate the arch and the vault of the apse, and were done between 1140 and 1148. The part of the tribune decoration which is ascribed to Cavallini is the series of seven panels added in 1291² to the above mentioned mosaics of the twelfth century, and arranged along the lower part of the apse and the pillars of the arch. Six of the panels are scenes from the life of the Virgin: her Birth, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple, and the Death, or, as the Middle Ages called it, the "Falling Asleep" of the Virgin. The seventh panel is located in the middle of the apse below these scenes from the life of the Virgin. On this the Virgin is represented in half-figure with the Child in her arms. The group is framed in a circular border. To the left is St. Paul (inscribed S. PAVLVVS), with sword and book; and to the right St. Peter (S. PETRVS), holding a book in his left hand and resting his right on the head of a kneeling donor—the donor of the whole series of the eight mosaic panels, in fact—who is labelled: BERTOL(dus) / FILIVS / PET(r)I. Beneath the Virgin's medallion is an oblong space containing these hexameters:

Virgo Deum complexa sinu servando pudorem
Virgineum matris fundans per sæcula nomen
Respice compunctos animos miserata tuorum.

Below this in turn is the coat-of-arms of the Stefaneschi family, to which the donor belonged, being Bertoldus, "son of Peter" (his label tells us), Stefaneschi, and brother of the Cardinal Giacomo Gaetano Stefaneschi who was Giotto's patron during his sojourn at Rome.

The mosaics of S. Maria in Trastevere have been many times restored, but no essential changes have been made either in the earlier ones of the arch and the upper part of the apse, nor in these of Cavallini.³ It is certain that the restorations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries left them intact, and that the earlier repairs brought with them no great

² For this date see De Rossi's commentary on the Cavallini mosaics in *Mosaici cristiani di Roma*.

³ See De Rossi, *op. cit.*

changes is shown by the close resemblance of the mosaics in their present state to the color copies in Ciacconio's collection of the sixteenth century,⁴ and to those made by Antonio Eclissi, by order of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, in 1640.⁵

Eclissi's copy of the votive picture is here reproduced⁶ for the first time in Fig. 11. It differs from the present mosaic in the highly important



FIG. 11. DRAWING BY ANTONIO ECLISSI OF A MOSAIC BY PIETRO CAVALLINI IN S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE.

respect of preserving a portion of the inscription, now destroyed, which originally ran along the lower border of the composition and is now replaced by the conventional pattern which surrounds the rest of the panel. In Eclissi's copy the inscription read:

.....VS..... IT PETRVS.....

⁴ Cod. Vat. 5408.

⁵ Formerly in the Barberini Library, now in the library of the Vatican (Cod. Barb. Lat. 4404).

⁶ The reproduction is made from a bromide negative kindly furnished me by Dr. Thomas Ashby, Director of the British School in Rome.

According to De Rossi, who first called attention to this copy of the inscription in his *Mosaici cristiani di Roma*, it may be restored in one of two ways: *hoc opVS fieri fecIT PETRVS*...in which case PETRVS would be the donor who "caused the work to be done";—or *hoc opVS fecIT PETRVS*... "Petrus did this work," thus constituting the signature of the artist. The circumstance which suggested De Rossi's first restoration is the long blank which Eclissi's copy left between VS and IT; too long, apparently, to be filled by the letters "*fec*" of the second emendation. But the first is ruled out by the fact that the donor's name was not Petrus, but Bertoldus Stefaneschi. De Rossi therefore supposed an error on the part of Eclissi and restored the inscription: *HOC OPVS FECIT PETRVS*, thus recovering for the history of Italian painting a monument of some consequence, the only known signature of Pietro Cavallini.

There is another copy of this votive mosaic which was unknown to

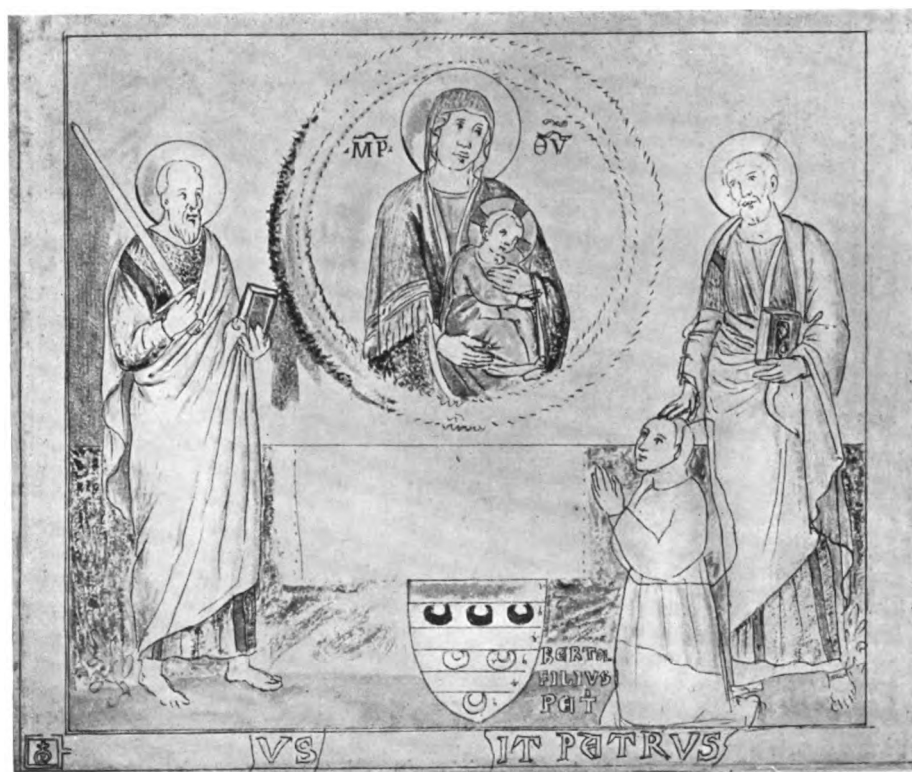


FIG. 12. DRAWING OF A MOSAIC BY PIETRO CAVALLINI IN S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE.

De Rossi in one of the Dal Pozzo drawings (Fig. 12).⁷ It is a fair replica of the mosaic. The inscription under the Madonna and Child is omitted, and it follows the Barberini copy in leaving out what are evidently modern additions, viz., the plant beside St. Paul, and the names which are inscribed under the figures of the Apostles. On the other hand it records many small details in common with the other drawing, as for example the little circle in the left hand lower corner of the border, surmounted by a cross and inclosing a P, which De Rossi thought might be Cavallini's monogram. Above all it shows in the lower border the same fragmentary inscription which was copied by Eclissi in the Barberini drawing discussed above:VS.....IT PETRVSAnd here again the lacuna is too large to be filled with the letters FEC.

The Windsor drawing is clearly the work of Antonio Eclissi. The resemblance to the Barberini copy, sufficiently apparent from the reproductions in Figs. 11 and 12, is too close to be explained by the common model. It resides in the identity of method in drawing nostrils, eyes, ears, mouth and hands, and most of all in the air of niggling hesitancy which pervades both of these copies, and is found in all the drawings discussed in this monograph. The Barberini drawing, recording the inscription under the Madonna and the details of the border, is a more finished work than the drawing in the Dal Pozzo collection, but the latter cannot be regarded as a preliminary sketch for the Barberini copy, since it contains details of gold and color which would have been unnecessary in a sketch. It is much more likely that the Windsor drawing is an independent copy made for Dal Pozzo, as in the case of the copy of the mosaic of S. Teodoro. In view of this it is worthy of note that Eclissi spaces the remaining letters of the inscription about the same in both drawings,⁸ and in any case the general accuracy of the copies precludes De Rossi's suggestion that he mistook to any great degree the amount of space left by the letters missing in the middle of the inscription.

It follows that De Rossi's restoration of these missing letters as FEC is wrong, for the space is too large for three letters only, but he is none the less correct in regarding it as the signature of the artist for the reason

⁷ *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. II, fol. 6, no. 9041. Measures 23 x 28 cm. Pen, gold and color.

⁸ The letters VS are drawn, in the Barberini copy, slightly to the left of the position which they occupy in the Windsor drawing.

given above. His mistake was rather in completing the signature in accordance with the short formula commonly used by the Cosmati and other Roman marble workers, instead of the fuller one employed by the mosaicists. Good examples of the latter are the two signatures of Giacomo Torriti, who signed the apsidal mosaic of St. John Lateran in 1290, and that of S. Maria Maggiore in 1296, dates close to the time when Cavallini was working on the mosaics of S. Maria in Trastevere. The signature in the Lateran basilica has been altered by modern retouches, and now reads: IACOBVS · TORITI / PICT · OC OP · FECCIT. Its original form is given by a copy preserved in a collection of Roman inscriptions formed toward the end of the sixteenth century,⁹ as follows: IACOB TōRITI / PICTOR H : OP : FECC : The other signature, in S. Maria Maggiore, reads: IACOB : TOR / RITI PICTOR / H : OP · MOSIAC · FEC *Jacob(us) Torriti pictor h(oc) op(us) mosiac(um) fec(it)*. This signature is found in identical form in the above mentioned epigraphic collection of the end of the sixteenth century, and is therefore pretty surely still in its original state. Using a formula similar to Torriti's, and like abbreviations, and crediting Cavallini with enough Latinity to avoid the solecism *mosiacum*, we may restore the signature as follows: [HOC OP M]VS[IV — FEC]IT PETRVS[PICTOR], i.e. *hoc op[us] musiac[um] fecit Petrus pictor*; "Peter the painter made this mosaic." This gives a formula which properly fills the lacunæ and is at the same time typical of the mosaicists rather than of the sculptors and architects of the time.

⁹ Preserved in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Angelica at Rome. See De Rossi *Bull. arch. crist.* 1891, p. 95.

VII. THE FRESCOES IN THE TRIBUNE OF S. PASSERA

S. Passera is the name which the Romans give to a little church outside of the Porta Portese on the right bank of the Tiber, almost opposite St. Paul's-outside-the-Walls. There never existed a saintly lady of this name, for the name of the church is a corruption of Abba, or Apa Cyrus, an Egyptian martyr. Abbacyrus became successively Appaciro, Appacero, Pacero, Pacera and Passera; Passera then became mixed up with Prassede, and in the days of the little church's prosperity its most popular feast day was July 21, the festival of St. Praxedes, or Prassede, the holy daughter of Pudens, whose acquaintance we have made in a previous chapter.¹

Abba or Apa was the native Egyptian designation for a monk; prefixed to the name of the saint, it gave him the appellation of Abbacyrus by which Rome knew him throughout the Middle Ages. The monk Cyrus had a companion John, who is described as a soldier. The bodies of both martyrs were interred at Menuphis near Alexandria, the modern Abukir (a name by the way which is itself derived from Abbacyrus) by the bishop Cyril of Alexandria, who has left the two discourses which he delivered on the occasion of this interment. It is from a figurative characterization of the martyrs as "physicians" in one of these discourses that the later legend seems to have arisen, according to which the two saints were doctors, serving the poor and the sick without pay, like Saints Cosmas and Damian.

The cult of Abbacyrus² and John was probably brought to Rome in the seventh century during the period of Oriental ascendancy which I have mentioned in speaking of the apsidal mosaic of S. Teodoro. Both saints appear in one of the earliest frescoes in the old church of S. Maria Antiqua

¹ Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, 2nd ed. pp. 945-6.

² For the cult of Abbacyrus at Rome and its connection with the church of S. Passera, see Sinthern, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1908, pp. 196-239.

in the Roman Forum, decorating the wall of the chapel to the right of the apse, and dating from the reign of John VII (707-708). In the ninth century the cult grew apace, and several sanctuaries appear to have been dedicated to the "doctor saints," or to Abbacyrus alone, who tended to outstrip his companion in the popular veneration. There is a striking bust of Abbacyrus among the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua attributed to Nicholas I (858-867),³ and above this bust is another painting of the eleventh or twelfth century representing Christ between the white haired, bearded Abbacyrus and the youthful John.⁴

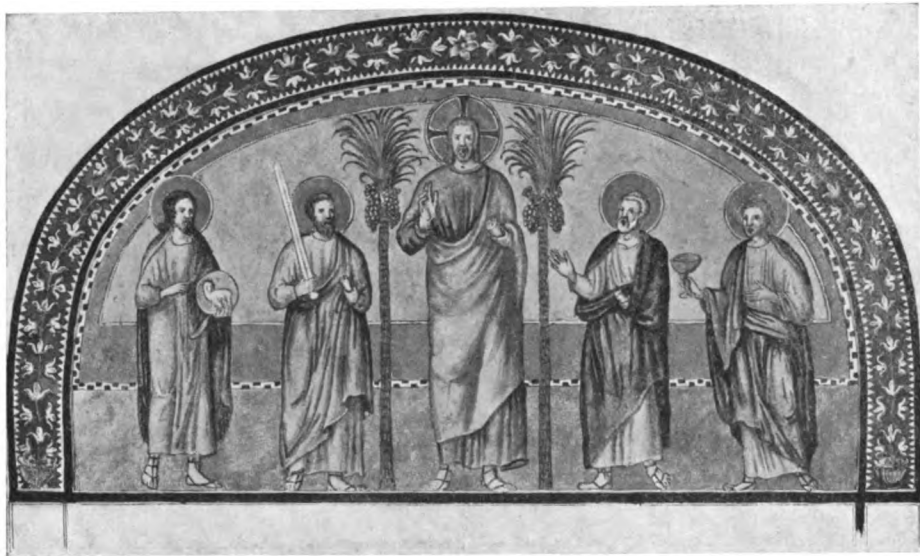


FIG. 13. DRAWING OF THE UPPER FRESCO IN THE APSE OF S. PASSERA.

About the time this fresco was painted the Abbacyrus cult in Rome experienced a renaissance. A church was built in honor of the martyr in the Forum of Trajan, and it was at this time that the lower church of S. Passera assumed its present form and received the inscription which still adorns the entrance to the underground chamber that lies beneath it:

Corpora sancta Cyri renitent hic atque Johannis
Quæ quondam Romæ dedit Alexandria magna.

"Here lie resplendent the holy bodies of Cyrus and John,
Which great Alexandria once gave to Rome."

³Grüneisen, *Ste.-Marie-Antique*, p. 101, fig. 75.

⁴Grüneisen, *op. cit.* pl. XV. Later Byzantine iconography, as represented by the well known "Painter's Manual" which Didron discovered still in use among the monastic artists of Mt. Athos, makes Cyrus's companion a gray haired man with a pointed beard.

One would suppose from the tenor of this inscription that the renewal of the cult was due to the translation of the bodies of the two saints at this time from Alexandria to the church of S. Passera, but there is little reason to suppose that this took place. As a matter of fact there seems to have been from very early times a shrine at this point on the Via Portuensis dedicated to Abbacyrus and his companion, and a tradition that their bodies rested in the underground chamber beneath the lower church. Above the lower church was built, in the thirteenth century, the present chapel of S. Passera, so that the sanctuary offers the interesting complex of three stories: upper church, lower church, and the underground chamber or hypogæum.



FIG. 14. DRAWING OF THE LOWER FRESCO IN THE APSE OF S. PASSERA.

The apse and arch of the upper chapel are decorated with frescoes which are in sad condition, due chiefly to a ruthless overpainting, apparently done toward the end of the seventeenth century, which has transformed the attributes of the saints and obliterated details to such an extent that Sinthern, the latest writer to describe the church, was unable to identify some of the figures.⁵ The original compositions of the tribune are fortunately preserved to us by numbers 8936, 9197, 9198 and 9220 of the Windsor drawings, here reproduced (Figs. 13, 14, 15, 16),⁶ together with a photo-

⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 236-7.

⁶ *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. I, fol. 9, no. 8936 (apse, upper portion). Measures $21\frac{1}{2} \times 40$ cm. Pen and color.

Vol. II, fol. 83, no. 9197 (right side of arch and panel with figure of St. Praxedis). Panel is marked with the Dal Pozzo number 3. Measures $24\frac{1}{2} \times 33\frac{3}{4}$ cm. Pen and color.

gravure of the tribune in its present state (Fig. 17). A comparison will show the curious changes which the overpainting produced.

In the vault of the apse (Fig. 13), the gesture of Christ's right hand has been changed, the figure has been broadened, and instead of the roll which originally was held in the left hand one now sees an open book inscribed: *Ego sum via, veritas, et vita*. The two palms which framed the Saviour's figure have disappeared; Peter's right hand, once uplifted, now dangles the keys in front of him; Paul's left hand no longer holds a roll, but hangs awkwardly at his side. Of the two saints which terminate the group, the one to the right, St. John Evangelist, has been but slightly



FIG. 15. DRAWING OF THE FRESCOES ON THE LEFT SIDE OF THE ARCH OF S. PASSERA.

altered, but John the Baptist on the opposite side has lost the medallion with the Lamb which he once held in his left hand, and has received in his right a scroll inscribed: *ecce agnus Dei qui [tollit peccata mundi]*, "Behold the Lamb of God which [taketh away the sin of the world]."

The lower wall of the apse (Fig. 14) was treated more heroically still. The Virgin and Child are not much changed, but the throne on which the Madonna sits has been brought up to date by the addition of a very baroque canopy and flying *putti* who hold the Virgin's nimbus. To

Vol. II, fol. 83, no. 9198 (left side of arch and panel with figure of St. Pudenciana). Measures 25 x 34½ cm. Pen and color.

Vol. II, fol. 98, no. 9220 (apse, lower portion). Measures 15½ x 38 cm. Pen and color. This leaf has the same watermark (crown and star?) as vol. I, fol. 9.

her left the erstwhile St. Michael has been transformed into a figure in which Sinthern saw St. Praxedes, holding in her left hand the sponge with which she collected the blood of the martyrs. At any rate the wings of the archangel are almost obliterated and another object has replaced the globe, marked with a cross, which he originally held in his left hand. The little kneeling figure of a female donor at his left is entirely gone, swallowed up by the large tub or other receptacle into which Praxedes, if Praxedes it be, seems to be squeezing the sponge. The figures to the right (from the spectator's point of view) are not greatly altered. Abacyrus, with spatula in his right hand and a medicine case in his left,



FIG. 16. DRAWING OF THE FRESCOES ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE ARCH OF S. PASSERA.

stands beside the seated Christ, at whose left appears the figure of John, holding the same symbols of his physician's profession.

On the other side of the Virgin's throne stands a dignified saint in whom Sinthern recognized St. Joseph. The drawing proves him to be St. James Major, for in front of him are his pilgrim's staff and scrip. It is probable that his left hand rested originally on the staff; his right lies on the head of a kneeling donor, whose form is still faintly to be seen in the present fresco. The last saint to the left, in Franciscan dress, holding a book in his right hand and resting the left on the head of a kneeling female donor, might well be St. Francis. Sinthern calls him St. Anthony of Padua, doubtless because of his youthful appearance, which is even more apparent in the drawing.

The arch (Figs. 15, 16) still displays at its summit a much damaged *Agnus Dei*, framed in a medallion and flanked by two candlesticks on either side. The drawing shows no divergence here, but distributes the symbols of the Evangelists differently. Eclissi, whose hand is again detected in this group of copies, drew the four beasts in the order: ox (Luke), angel (Matthew), eagle (John), and lion (Mark), while the actual fresco arranges them: eagle, angel, lion ox. The copyist must



FIG. 17. FRESCOES IN THE TRIBUNE OF S. PASSERA, PRESENT STATE.

have found the symbols considerably effaced, since he records only one of the inscriptions on the books of the Evangelist (the *Liber generationis Iesu Christi* on the book of Matthew), and it is barely possible that the discrepancy in the arrangement is due to a mistake on his part and not to the repainting.

Sinthern was unable to identify the figures in the spandrels. They are clear enough in the drawing: to the left (Fig. 15) we have the young St. John, whose short tunic, boots and military cloak recall his original pro-

fession of soldier, and to the right (Fig. 16) St. Cyrus, painted as usual as a white haired old man with a long beard. Both saints hold the physician's spatula and medicine case.

Below these figures are panels, each of which still contains the figure of a female saint. The one on the left is labelled: "Potentiana" by an inscription scratched on the plaster; in the saint opposite we may therefore recognize her sister Praxedes, whose connection with S. Passera has been mentioned before. The drawing shows that Praxedes wore a crown as well as her sister, although this detail does not now appear.

The borders of the arch and the upper portion of the apse are not materially different in fresco and drawing; the Windsor copyist has not recorded them in his rendering of the lower portion. This lower group, so heterogeneous in its elements, is obviously the result of the desire of each of the three donors of the fresco, who kneel at the feet of St. James, St. Cyrus and the Franciscan saint, to have their patrons included in the holy group; the Virgin, the seated Christ and the archangel Michael are the nucleus of the devotional picture, and are objects of reverence too common to require an explanation of their presence.

Whether the monastic saint at the extreme left of the row is St. Francis himself, or his famous disciple St. Anthony of Padua, he at any rate dates the fresco. St. Francis was canonized in 1228 and St. Anthony in 1232. Sinthern suggested Honorius III (1216-1227) as the builder or restorer of the upper church. The tribune frescoes, subsequent at least to the canonization of St. Francis, cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century, and no earlier period could have conceived the Gothic frames which inclose the figures of Praxedes and Pudentiana. On the other hand the frescoes cannot be much later than the middle of the thirteenth century because of the close adherence of the arch composition to the type in use throughout the twelfth century. We have made the acquaintance of this form of arch decoration at S. Maria Nuova. It is repeated at S. Maria in Trastevere, and the essential features appear as early as the arch of S. Clemente (under Paschal II, 1099-1118). In the arch of S. Passera they appear again: the four symbols of the Evangelists flanking the medallion at the top of the arch; the candlesticks on either side; especially the palm-trees and the standing figures in the spandrels. The type is in decadence here, however, as is seen from the reduction of the seven

candlesticks to four, as if the painter had lost their meaning, and the substitution in the spandrils of the titular saints of the church for the prophets who hold this place in the arches of the twelfth century (Plate II). The tribune frescoes of S. Passera may therefore be dated about the middle of the thirteenth century.⁷

⁷ The following summary indicates the colors used in the Windsor copy :

ARCH: The background is in gray wash. The symbols of the Evangelists have white wings shaded with pink, and yellow haloes. The candlesticks are yellow. The medallion in the centre has an outside border of red; the inside border is white. The Lamb is white with a yellow nimbus crossed with red. The beasts to the right are brownish in color; to the left the ox is pink, and the angel wears a green tunic with a red mantle. In the spandrils, St. John wears a white tunic striped horizontally with red, violet leggings, yellow shoes and a red mantle. The trees on both sides are green, with a shadow in violet. St. Cyrus has a reddish tunic, steel-gray shoes, and a reddish-yellow mantle. He stands on a green groundstrip. The border of the arch consists of red, white and green bands; the inner band is white with black crenellations.

APSE (upper portion): The background is violet inclosed in the upper part by a green border, which is the color of the strip that crosses the centre of the field behind the figures. A checkerboard pattern in red and white separates this green inner border from the outside border, which has yellow vases, and white flowers with green stems on a red ground. This border is inclosed in dark red bands. The palms have yellow trunks, green tops, and red fruit. The haloes are yellow, that of Christ being crossed with red. John the Baptist wears a violet tunic and yellow mantle; the medallion which he carries is violet with white border, on which the Lamb is relieved in white with a red-crossed nimbus. All the other saints have similar violet tunics, but wear red mantles, while Christ wears a red tunic and a violet pallium. St. John Evangelist's chalice is yellow.

APSE (lower portion): The background is violet with a green groundstrip. The haloes are yellow. St. Anthony (or Francis) wears a yellow-brown habit and carries a yellow book. The kneeling donor beside him wears a red robe and has a white veil on her head. St. James has a white tunic and red pallium; the donor in front of him is clad in a green robe. His staff is yellow with the scrip in white with yellow shadows. The Virgin's throne is yellow with red stripes. The Virgin herself wears a violet robe and white veil. The Child wears a white and yellow garment; His nimbus is crossed with white. St. Michael wears a tunic with green sleeves; over this is a white garment with a checkered pattern of crossed lines in brown, and a yellow girdle; his mantle is red. The globe which he carries is white with a red cross. His wings are white with pink shadows, and he wears dark brown boots. The kneeling figure at his feet has a violet robe with a white veil. St. Cyrus wears a violet robe and red shoes; he carries a white spatula and a yellow medicine case. Christ's throne is yellow; He wears a red tunic and green mantle. His book is red. St. John wears a white tunic almost completely concealed by a green overdress, and a red mantle. His spatula and medicine case are white. St. Pudentiana stands in a dark-brown niche, wears a yellow crown, and is dressed in a violet undergarment with a yellow sleeve, and a red and yellow mantle bordered with yellow and white. She carries a white book. The niche of St. Praxedes is also brown, and she wears a yellow crown like her sister. Her undergarment is red with a green sleeve; over this she wears a yellow and white mantle bordered with green. Both saints have yellow haloes.

PLATE V



DRAWING OF THE FRESCO FORMERLY IN THE VAULT OF THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. NICHOLAS IN THE LATERAN PALACE.

VIII. THE FRESCOES IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. NICHOLAS IN THE LATERAN PALACE¹

Among Eclissi's drawings in the Dal Pozzo collection are five² which restore the decorations of the tribune of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the old Lateran, which was destroyed during the remodelling of the palace under Benedict XIV in 1747. These drawings have long been known, and I have included them in the monograph only for the sake of their reproduction, adding such explanatory comment as seemed necessary. The first of the drawings represents the fresco of the apse (Plate V). In the center is the Madonna in royal robes and crown, seated on a throne from which on either side arises the figure of an angel bearing a flaming torch. The Christ Child sits erect and formal on her lap. Above her head the Hand of God extends a jewelled wreath. In the field on either side is a figure in episcopal robes; the one to the left wears the papal tiara in the form it assumed previous to 1300, and is inscribed: S·SILVESTER; the other is bareheaded, and labelled: S·ANASTASIVS. At the feet of the Madonna kneel two Popes, each clasping one of her feet. They both wear the rectangular nimbus to indicate that they are

¹ On the subject of these frescoes see De Rossi, *Esame storico ed archeologico dell' immagine di Urbano II papa*; reprinted from *Gli Studi in Italia*, IV, Rome, 1881; E. Müntz: *Ricerche intorno ai lavori archeologici di Giacomo Grimaldi*, Florence, 1881; and Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* II, p. 325, note 22.

² *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. I, fol. 49, no. 8981 (apse). Dal Pozzo number 49. Measures 31 x 52½ cm. Pen and color.

Vol. II, fol. 87, no. 9205 (Gelasius and Paschal). Measures 30 x 22¾ cm. Pen and color.

Fol. 87, no. 9206 (Urban and Leo). Dal Pozzo number 31. Measures 30 x 22½ cm. Pen and color.

Fol. 92, no. 9213 (Gregory the Great and Alexander). Measures 30 x 22¾ cm. Pen and color.

Fol. 92, no. 9214 (Gregory VII and Victor). Dal Pozzo number 50. Measures 30 x 22½ cm. Pen and color.

living persons; the Pope to the left is inscribed: CHALISTO II PP (*Papa*), and the one on the right is designated: ANASTASIVS III. Under the Madonna's throne is the inscription: PRESIDET ETHEREIS PIA VIRGO MARIA CHOREIS. The rest of the lower border is occupied by an inscription recording the building and decorating of the chapel:

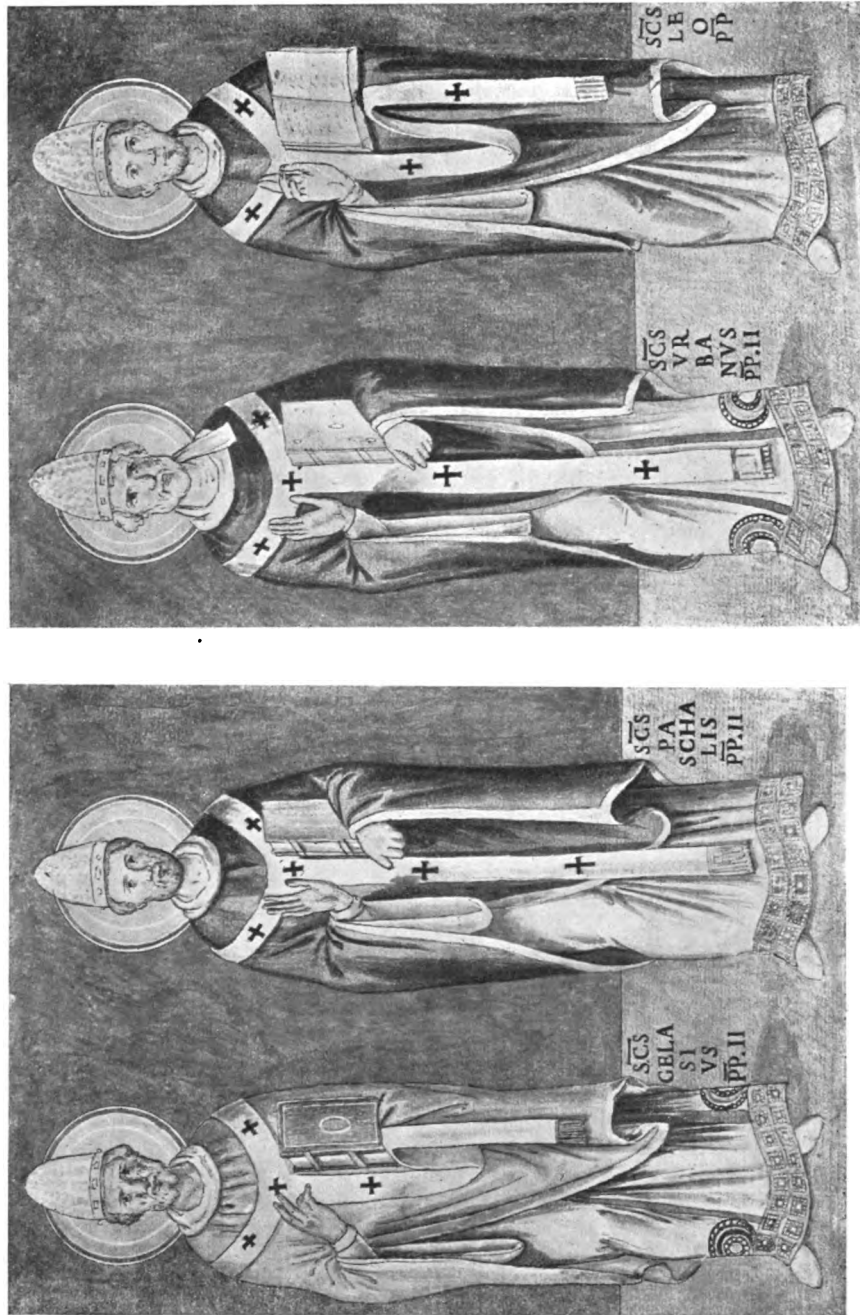
SVSTVLIT HOC PRIMO TE(m)PLV(m) CALINTV(s) AB IMO
VIR CLAR(us) LATE GALLORVM NOBILITATE
P^ PAT(us) CVLMINE
HOC OPVS ORNAVIT VARIISQVE MODIS DECORAVIT

The other drawings give the decoration of the lower part of the apse on either side, a row of figures representing Popes who had attained the dignity of sainthood. The copies of Fol. 87 (Plate VI) reproduce the left half of this frieze, containing the figures of Gelasius II (SCS GELASIVS PP. II), Paschal II (SCS PASCHALIS PP. II), Urban II (SCS VRBANVS PP. II), and St. Leo the Great (SCS LEO PP). Fol. 92 (Plate VII) gives the figures of the right half: St. Gregory the Great (SCS GREGORIVS PP), Alexander II (SCS ALEXANDER PP. II), Gregory VII (SCS GREGORIVS PP. VII), and Victor III (SCS VICTOR PP III). In the center between these two quartettes of Popes was the figure of St. Nicholas, inscribed with his name, which does not appear among the Windsor drawings.³

³ The drawings are colored as follows:

APSE: Border-design in red and yellow on green, inclosed by narrow inner bands of yellow and broader outer bands of reddish brown, of which the inner one is continued along the bottom of the apse. The field of the apse is inclosed by a black band. The field is reddish purple; the stars with which it is decorated are in gold (?) and silver (?). The wreath above the Virgin's head is yellow with red dots and a blue jewel. The Virgin wears a yellow crown, dotted with black. Her collar is yellow with red dots. She wears a blue underdress decorated with yellow and red; her mantle is of bronzed blue, and the shoes are red. The cushion on which she sits is decorated with a diaper pattern in red and white. The Christ-child wears a white tunic and a yellow pallium shaded with red. The throne is yellow, lined with red. The foot-stool of the Virgin is in yellow and blue jewels. The angels wear blue tunics and green mantles; their wings are red, shaded with blue, and their torches yellow, with red flames. The hair of the Virgin, Child, and angels is in brownish yellow. The kneeling Popes wear white dalmatics covered by dull red paenulae; their pallium scarfs are white with black crosses; the shoes are in red and yellow. The figures of the standing saints are colored alike: white dalmatics with decorations in red, blue and yellow; red paenulae bordered with yellow; yellow shoes, white pallium scarfs with black crosses, white neck-cloths or stoles, and white tiara (on the head of Sylvester). The ground-strip on which they stand is green. The inscriptions are in white letters; the haloes are all done in yellow, bordered with red.

PLATE VI



DRAWING OF THE FRESCO FORMERLY ON THE LOWER WALL OF THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF
ST. NICHOLAS IN THE LATERAN PALACE, LEFT HALF.

The chapel of St. Nicholas was built in the old Lateran palace, the papal residence up to the time of the building of the Vatican, by Calixtus II (1119-1124). Calixtus was a Burgundian by birth, hence the *Gallorum nobilitate* of the inscription. The building of the oratory is ascribed to him not only by the inscription in the apse but also by the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁴ The inscription gives him credit for the frescoes as well, but as the tribune was restored about 1570 and suffered considerable change at that time, the present form of the inscription is not altogether to be trusted. Pietro Sabino transcribed it at the end of the fifteenth century, and read the verse under the image of the Madonna as follows: *Presidet æthereis pia virgo Maria choreis*, which corresponds, save in the unimportant particular of *æthereis* for the more likely *ethereis*, to Eclissi's copy. But Sabino read the rest of the inscription in full:

*Sustulit hoc primo templum Callistus ab imo
Vir celebris late Gallorum nobilitate.
Letus Callistus papatus culmine fractus
Hoc opus ornavit variisque modis decoravit.*

Sabino's copy, although made before the restorations of the sixteenth century, must be inexact, for he uses "Callistus" instead of "Calixtus," the current form of the twelfth century, and the beginning of the third verse should read *Callistus letus* instead of *letus Callistus*, in order to make the Leonine rhyme with *fractus*. It will be noted moreover that some other beginning of the third verse is indicated by the remaining letters PΛ of the Windsor copy, and that the repetition of Calixtus' name is somewhat strange. The first verse, also, "Calixtus first built this temple from its foundations," leaves the reader with the impression that the last two

THE EIGHT POPES: Background violet, with ground-strip in green. The haloes are yellow with white and red stripes; the tiaras are all white, with a yellow band dotted with white. The tops of the tiaras are decorated in the case of the first four, plain for the others. All the figures have yellow shoes, white pallium-scarfs with black crosses and yellow tips, and white neck-cloths; the invariable decoration of the lower edge of the dalmatic is a gray band with oblong ornaments in violet and white. Gelasius is given flaxen hair; Paschal, Leo and the two Gregories have brown hair; that of Urban, Alexander and Victor is white. Gelasius and Victor, at the ends of the row, wear green paenulae over dalmatics decorated with circular ornaments in red, violet and white. All the others have scarlet paenulae; the dalmatics are orange in the case of Paschal, Leo, and the two Gregories; Urban and Alexander have the white and red dalmatics of the saints at the ends of the row. The books are red, yellow, green or rose in color.

⁴ Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* II, p. 323.

verses ought to record the completion and decoration of the chapel at the hands of another Pope.

Arguing from these indications, Duchesne decided that Pietro Sabino must have inserted his own conjectures into the inscription in the places where words were lacking in the fifteenth century. The fragmentary letters to be seen in the Windsor drawing at the beginning of the third line permit one to suppose *Præsul* as the first word of the verse. *Anastasius* might be suggested as the name of the Pope to replace that of Calixtus, because his name is inscribed next to the kneeling donor to the right of the Virgin. But no faith can be placed in the present labelling of the figures in the apse, since they were nearly all changed in the course of the repairs of the sixteenth century. Anastasius III moreover did not ascend the throne of St. Peter till 1153, and it is unlikely that the chapel of St. Nicholas, destined for the daily use of the Pope, remained unfinished for a period of thirty years, between Calixtus's death in 1124 and the accession of Anastasius. The intervening Popes were Innocent II, who occupied the Lateran (in 1133) for too short a time to undertake the decoration of the chapel, and the antipope Anacletus II, mentioned in the first chapter as the possible author of the apsidal fresco of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. The substitution of *Anacletus* gives the needed Leonine rhyme for *fretus*, and so Duchesne, whose argument we have been summarizing, restores the inscription as follows:

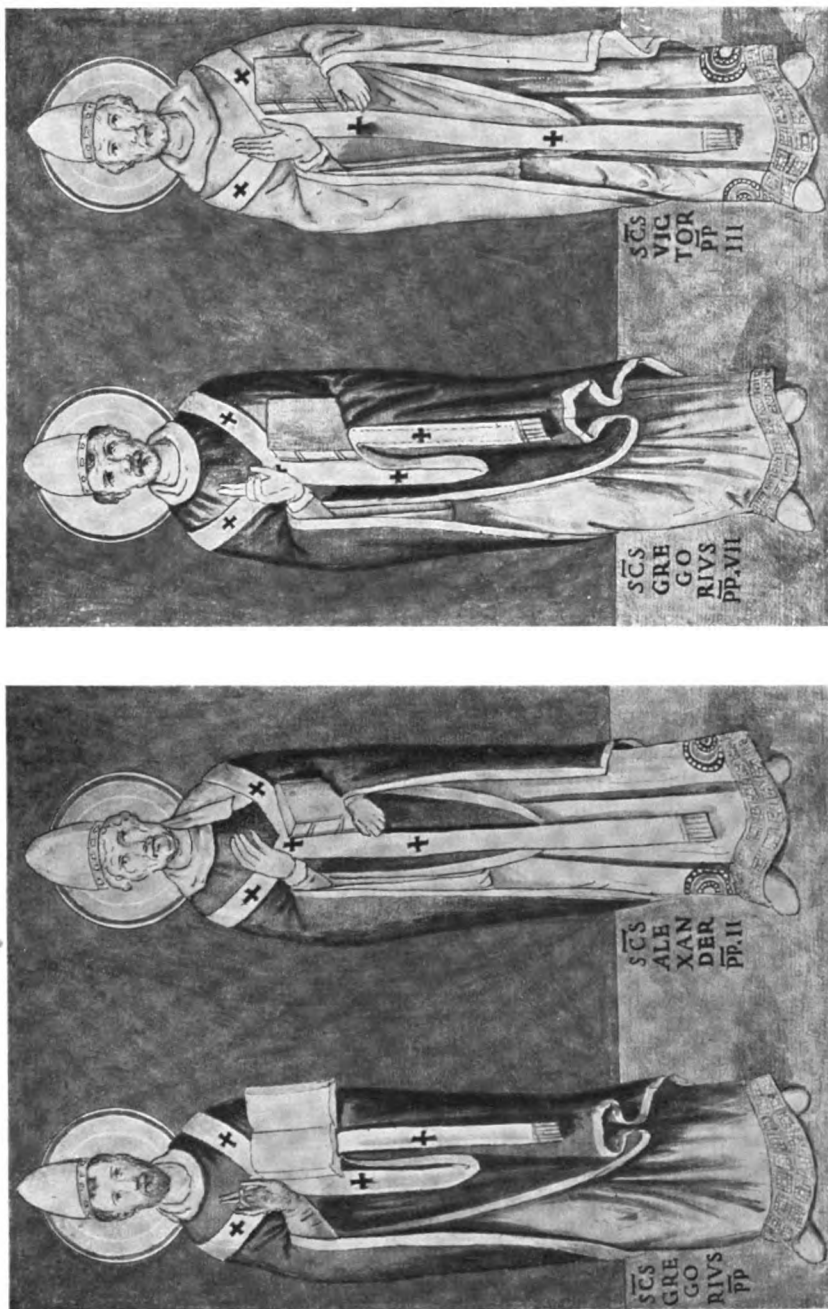
*Sustulit hoc primo templum Calixtus ab imo
 Vir celebris^a late Gallorum nobilitate.
 Præsul Anacletus papatus culmine fretus
 Hoc opus ornavit variisque modis decoravit.*

"Calixtus first built this temple from its foundations
 A man famed far and wide and of gentle Gallic blood.
 The pontiff Anacletus, enthroned on the supreme seat of the papacy,
 Adorned the work and beautified it in various ways."

The kneeling figure opposite Calixtus is then the antipope Anacletus II, whose name was no longer visible when the restoration of the frescoes was carried out in the sixteenth century, having no doubt been erased after his death and the restoration to power in Rome of Innocent II. The inscription beside his figure should therefore be changed from

^aSabino's *celebris* is more probably correct than the rather obvious *clarus* of the Windsor drawing.

PLATE VII



DRAWING OF THE FRESCO FORMERLY ON THE LOWER WALL OF THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF
ST. NICHOLAS IN THE LATERAN PALACE, RIGHT HALF.

ANASTASIUS III to ANACLETUS PP II, and that of Calixtus should obviously read: CALIXTUS PP II, instead of the extraordinary CHALISTO. The standing bishop to the left is properly labelled S. SILVESTER, but Duchesne is undoubtedly right in assuming a mistake in the inscription which designates the other figure, who is in all probability St. Anacletus, bishop of Rome in the first century, and the eponymous patron of the kneeling antipope. He wears no tiara, as the tiara was supposed to have been worn first in the time of Constantine by Pope Sylvester.

This tiara which Sylvester shares with the popes of the lower frieze is an interesting indication from the historical point of view, for there are but few earlier instances of its use in Christian art.* Up to the time of Boniface VIII the popes wore, as in these frescoes, a single circlet on the tiara, or *regnum* as it was then called. Boniface introduced a second crown, the *triregnum* quickly followed, and the triple crown became distinctive of the papal tiara from the fourteenth century on.

The whole decoration of the chapel of St. Nicholas, and of the chambers that adjoined it, was a pictorial allegory expressive of the temporal supremacy which was the ideal and aim of the Popes of the twelfth century. The relation of the frescoes to the Concordat of Worms and the struggle against secular investiture may be studied in detail in De Rossi's exhaustive treatment (see note 1). Eclissi is not the only one who copied the frescoes before their destruction; Grimaldi made a copy in the early seventeenth century, and there are other and later ones. The Windsor drawings themselves have had a partial publication in Marriot's *Vestiarium Christianum*,⁷ but the present reproduction is the first, I believe, to give in complete form (save for the missing figure of St. Nicholas) this interesting series of frescoes.

* An example is found in the tiara worn by the Pope in a fresco of the lower church of S. Clemente representing the funeral procession of a saint. The fresco dates in the eleventh century. Cf. De Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.* 1864, p. 3.

⁷ P. 243; pl. XLVI (upper half of apse only).

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